LIBERIA.

A republic founded by black men, reared by black men, maintained by black men, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects.—HENRY CLAY.

BULLETIN No. 24. FEBRUARY, 1904.

ISSUED BY THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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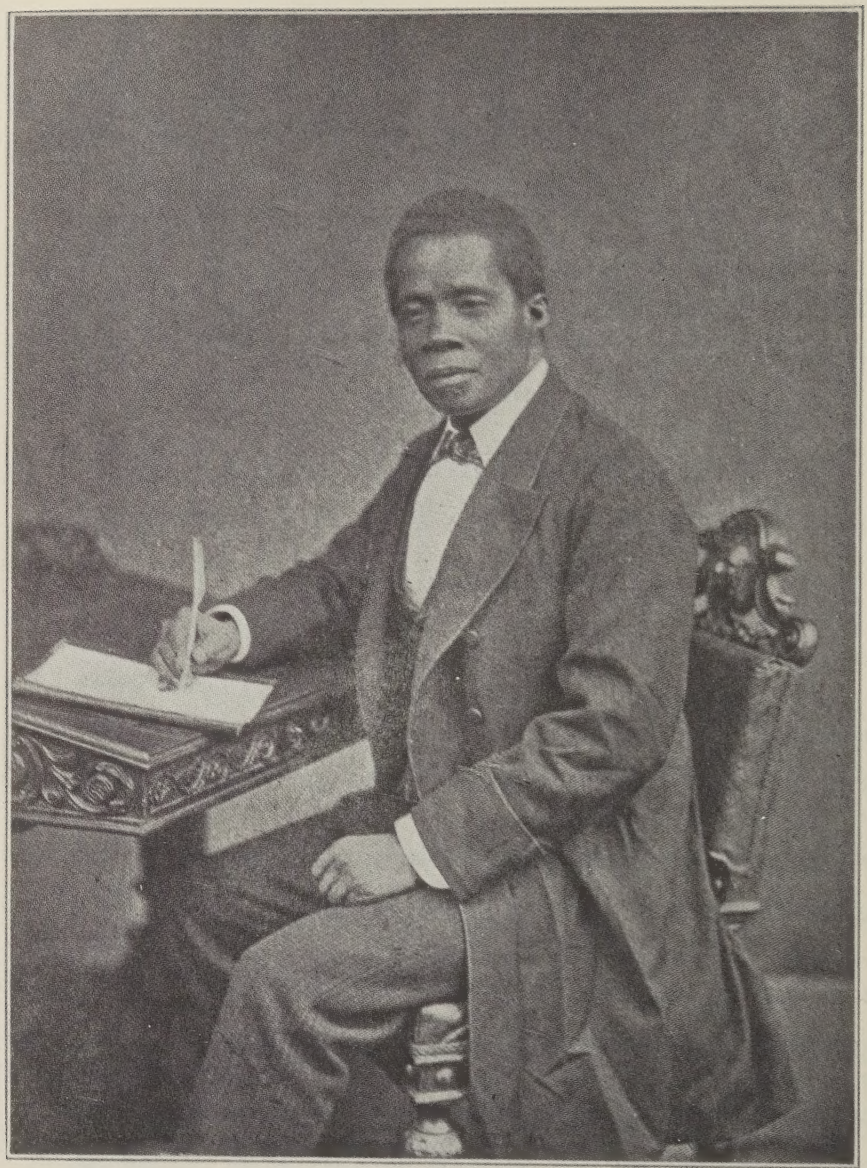

Edward W. Blyden

LIBERIA.

BULLETIN No. 24. **FEBRUARY, 1904.**

THE EIGHTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE RIGHT REV. HENRY Y. SATTERLEE, D. D., AND THE REV. A. J. HUNTINGTON, D. D.

The Right Rev. Henry Y. Satterlee, D. D., of Washington city, was elected President of the American Colonization Society at the last annual meeting of said body. He was not present at the time he was elected, but subsequently accepted the office.

It was stated at the last annual meeting of the Board of Directors that the Rev. A. J. Huntington, D. D., chairman of the Executive Committee, was not able to be present, having been badly injured by an accident on the 10th of January, 1903.

The result of such an injury was watched with intense interest by all the members of the board, and while he gained for a time, it proved too much for his advanced years, and he died, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. William L. Wilson, at Charleston, West Virginia, on the 14th of July, 1903, at the age of eighty-five.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 2d of this month the following resolution was passed:

"*Resolved*, That by the death of the late Rev. A. J. Huntington, D. D., this committee has been deprived of the companionship and services of a most estimable man.

"As a gentleman, scholar, and professor in the Columbian University for nearly sixty years, no one stood higher. Whatever he undertook was done with greatest care. His Christian example was of the highest order of excellence."

BULLETINS.

As usual, two Bulletins have been published during the past year. No. 22 contains portraits of President Gibson and Hon. Messrs. Barclay, Williams, Grimes, and Moore, either then or

at some time previously holding national offices. No. 23 contains a picture of the National House of Representatives in Monrovia, the capital of Liberia. The pictures of distinguished men and places of national importance give some idea of the country to which they belong.

The articles are written by persons supposed not to be swayed by prejudice here and selected from publications at home and abroad, which will give a fair view of the Negro problem of independent settlements.

An edition of 1,500 copies was published of each Bulletin and distributed among the friends of Liberia.

EMIGRATION.

During the year just closed the American Colonization Society sent out to Liberia three emigrants, two of whom sailed June 18, 1903.

These two were recommended by Bishop Hartzell, and the following statements in reference to each were made by him:

"Thomas Rutherford McWilliams is 24 years old; was born in Lawrence, Kansas, February 3, 1879; graduated at the Lawrence High School in 1897; graduated at the State Kansas University in 1901, and has been a teacher of science since September, 1901, in the New Orleans University, New Orleans, Louisiana. He goes out as a teacher of science in the College of West Africa, Monrovia, Liberia."

"Mrs. Leona McWilliams is 21 years old; was born in Crystal Springs, Mississippi, in 1882; was educated in Meridian Academy, Meridian, Mississippi, and in New Orleans University, New Orleans, Louisiana, and goes out with her husband to devote her life to the work of teaching in Africa."

In December last it was agreed that Miss Addie C. Cradic should be sent out, who was endorsed by Rev. George M. Adams, D. D., Auburndale, Massachusetts, treasurer of the Mount Coffee Association, and Mrs. Jennie E. D. Sharp, of Liberia. She goes to assist Mrs. Sharp in maintaining an industrial school at Mount Coffee.

The Rev. Ernest Lyon, a colored minister of Baltimore, Maryland, who was recently appointed Minister of the United States to Liberia, Africa, upon arriving in that country found that a company of fifty-six emigrants from Georgia, in the month of February, 1903, had been landed there under unfavorable cir-

cumstances and several of them had died, and he immediately wrote to the Department of State, making a severe complaint about this transaction. The leading newspapers of the country also gave an account of it, with severe criticisms on any attempt at emigration.

The Department of State, having no appropriation available for the correction of such evils, communicated the dispatches of Mr. Lyon to this office.

This Society has no means of assistance which it could give to persons so situated. It has no connection whatever with these various associations that are engaged in emigration. It now makes scarcely any new collections for the purpose of aiding colonization in Liberia, and the small fund which it has in reserve has been given for other special purposes.

We are not to infer from this that all the colonization in Liberia has been a failure.

The Rev. Majola Agbebi, a citizen of Lagos, Africa, whose integrity and ability we believe to be unquestionable, is on a visit to this country, and has called at this office. He states that he has lately visited Liberia and found there a people who were prosperous, making a good living, most of whom came from the United States originally and would be unwilling to return.

EDUCATION.

The institution at Harper, Cape Palmas, known as "The Hall Free School," is still successfully instructed by Samuel J. Dossen, who has been in charge of it since 1894. Those who have their children in this institution seem well satisfied with the results. The invested fund, the income of which pays the salary of the teacher, is controlled by this Society.

During the quarter ended November 17, 1903, the whole number of pupils enrolled was 115, of whom 48 were born of native African or heathen parents.

In a late report Mr. Dossen says: "The school has been regularly held. The lessons of the pupils as a whole have been satisfactory, especially those of the younger ones, and there have been promotions in several of the classes during the quarter."

Graham School, No. 1, at Greenville, Sinoe county; Graham Schools, No. 2 and 3, at Royesville, Montserrado county, have

pursued the same course as heretofore during the year that has just passed.

The death of our agent, Mr. Julius C. Stevens, has prevented us from getting the information in respect to these schools which we have had heretofore.

The Liberians are to provide acceptable buildings and furniture for these schools, which are subject to the general supervision of our agent in Liberia.

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

We have forwarded the fifty dollars ($50) awarded to Gammon Theological Seminary as usual. Rev. L. G. Adkinson, D. D., the President, writes, January 7, 1904: "Many thanks for the check for $50. We have an excellent young man here now who will do the cause good service in Africa. I will send a description and photograph a little later. We are very thankful for this aid and shall try to use it in the fear of the Lord and to secure the largest results in service."

We are now endeavoring to find another agent for Liberia, who will take the place so admirably filled by Mr. Julius C. Stevens for the last ten years, and should we be successful our reports from that country from time to time will be equally reliable.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR BARCLAY'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Fellow-Citizens: Notified by the House of Representatives on the 17th ultimo that I had been elected President of Liberia, I am here today, in obedience to their summons, to take before the legislative body the oath directed by the Constitution of the State, before entering upon the duties of that high office.

Permit me, representatives of the people, to tender through you to them my thanks for this mark of their appreciation, and to request that you convey to them my assurances that to ensure their security, welfare, and continued growth shall be the constant aim and effort of my administration.

Over half a century has elapsed since our present form of government was instituted. We ought to be devoutly thankful to God that during all that time the government of the State has

been regularly and legally administered, and the Presidential office invariably handed over without friction to the citizen chosen by his peers to occupy the executive chair for the constitutional term.

The legislature of the Republic has always striven to square their acts in accord with the directions of the Constitution—the organic statute of the Republic—and the population has always loyally and cheerfully obeyed the constituted authorities.

When we bring to mind and consider the record of many democratic communities of our own and other races on the other side of the Atlantic whose countries have frequently been a prey to revolutionary disorder, we should be proud of this record, and there can be no doubt that the regularity with which our public affairs have been conducted has favorably impressed the outside world.

The attention of Liberians cannot at present be too often drawn to the fact that the Africa of today is not the Africa of 1848; that Africa was a mysterious and little-known continent, dangerous to access, and reputed to be filled with wild beasts and savages, the haunt of the slave-trader, and of little interest to the man engaged in legitimate trade.

The new Africa is as well known as Europe or North America. A magnificent continent, its future became a matter of interest to all the leading commercial peoples of the world. They have hastened to partition it and to place their establishments and governments therein. Already in this enormous continent there are but three independent powers—Morocco, Abyssinia, and Liberia. The fate of the first is already considered as sealed. The second is indebted for her present position to the determination and bravery of her chiefs and people; and I do not hesitate to express the conviction that the continued independence of Liberia will depend solely upon the wise, politic, and far-seeing action of her leaders and people.

As regards small States, *independence* is a relative term. Shut in between the territories of two very powerful, very progressive, and highly civilized empires, our lands girdled by their influence, garrisons, and railroads, their friendship and support are necessary to our political security, and, willing or unwilling, no sane citizen of this Republic will consider it good policy not to remain on good terms with their governments.

A new situation has unexpectedly been created for us during the last 25 years, and today we stand at the parting of the ways. The times have changed; we must change with them.

Communities are affected by the changes around and must conform to the new conditions. A new state of affairs makes, in our case, a new and vigorous policy necessary.

The Constitution accords to the President of the Republic, and custom, the right to recommend to the legislature any public measure for their adoption which we may think expedient. I shall now proceed to do so. I am quite sure that the views I shall put forth are, in the main, in line with those of President Gibson, who today resigns the Executive chair. He has served his country faithfully and well. The country will take some time to appreciate his self-abnegation and the patience and devotion to the true interests of the State which he has manifested in office.

Two questions have for many years agitated and vexed the minds of thinking citizens:

1. How can we best develop and utilize the resources of our hinterlands?

2. In what way can the government best satisfy, control, and attach the native populations to the interests of the State?

Of these questions, the first interests more the Americo-Liberian population, intent on material prosperity, but the latter is most important. We cannot develop the interior effectively until a satisfactory understanding with the resident populations is arrived at.

The efforts which we in the past made to coerce these populations by arms have deservedly failed. Government must rest on the consent of the governed. We made a great initial mistake in the beginning of our national career. We sought to obtain, and did succeed in grasping, an enormous mass of territory, but we neglected to conciliate and attach the resident populations to our interests. Our present narrow and jealous trade policy, initiated in the sixties, has had the worst possible effect upon our political relations with the outlying native populations. Take, for instance, the Manna and Gallinas territories, formerly a part of Liberia. Why did we lose these? Because we neglected to look after and conciliate the populations. We thought their wishes and desires unworthy of serious considera-

tion, and after enduring the situation for many years they detached themselves from the interests of Liberia and carried their territories with them. The same thing happened with respect to the territory below the Cavalla, and, although we regarded the secession of those districts a great national loss, we have never drawn the proper lesson from the incident and are still inclined to proceed on the old mistaken lines. Our old attitude of indifference toward the native populations must be dropped. A fixed and unwavering policy with respect to the natives, proceeding on the lines of interest in their local affairs—protection, civilization, and safeguarding their institutions when not brutal or harmful—should at once be set on foot.

Surprise was doubtless created at the facility with which Liberia gained possession of so large a territory, but this is easily explained by a glance at the state of the country when the colony was founded and the political aspirations of the population.

When we came here in 1822 the country was indeed divided among a large number of tribes, but there were signs, not only in this territory, but along the whole West Coast, of a desire to merge the tribal governments into wider political organizations which would secure the peace of the country, put a stop to incessant raids, devastations, and consequent loss of life and property, and give the working classes a chance to secure progress and development.

There is a peculiarity among men which seems to make it difficult to submit to the rule of an equal, and hence a satisfactory center around which to rally had not been found at the time of the Liberian settlement. The more sagacious chiefs saw in our settlement the necessary center; hence the ease with which they came into line and placed in our hands political jurisdiction over their several districts in return for protection, civilization, and internal order, to effect which we virtually pledged ourselves. We often neglect to make good our promises, but the native citizen has a very retentive memory and knows exactly what he wants.

The new departure in national policy toward the native population which I have suggested is but a return to the conditions upon which we obtained political jurisdiction over the country.

I feel we ought to set to work at once, so as to make up for the time lost through our failure to understand conditions. I

hope, therefore, that the legislature will at this very session pass a bill for the government of our native population on the lines I shall now indicate:

1. Between the sea and the belt of forest which separates the coast tribes from those of the interior are a large number of broken clans. These rely for protection either on the civilized population or on the stronger and more vigorous races of the interior. If they think it necessary to oppose the action of the Americo-Liberian population, they draw allies and forces from the interior tribes. To oppose the interior tribes they call in the government. I suggest that this population be organized as soon as possible into native townships, at the head of which will be placed a chief commissioned by the government—a practice which, although not expressly authorized, has already been found useful and satisfactory. This officer would be responsible for the maintenance of peace and order in his district and should be entrusted with the collection of taxes, for which he would receive the remuneration already fixed by law. He should be allowed, as far as is practicable, to govern the people in accordance with their immemorial customs, except where such customs are, for good reasons, forbidden by law.

In connection with the native population, there is the land question to be dealt with. When the chiefs of the country executed the deeds of cession to Liberia there were in some deeds an express and in others an implied reservation of the towns and plantations in actual occupancy. These were to be considered as belonging to the public domain. This reservation has too often been ignored and the native population of many well-known towns near the settlements gradually deprived of their lands, which have been drawn up by settlers and citizens as part of the public domain.

The successive chiefs of the State have often interfered for the protection of the native holders, but many cases of flagrant and wrongful disposition escaped notice. The legislature should deal with the question. I suggest that to the population of each native township be assigned a body of land equal to about 25 acres for each man. This land should be deeded to said township, and should be held in common, and ought not to be sold unless by consent of the executive government given in writing. The inhabitants of these towns would not, of course,

possess the right of suffrage; but power should be given, upon petition of two-thirds of the male inhabitants asking permission to hold the communal land in severalty, to divide the land equitably among the people interested. The holders would acquire the right of suffrage and become part of the governing body. If the community appeared not sufficiently advanced for the step, the petition might be refused. One general election should be allowed to intervene between admission to and enjoyment of the right of suffrage, so that the true interests of the country might not suffer in any way from the zeal of the indiscreet partisan.

The judicial department, which ought to be directed to administer justice as far as possible in accordance with tribal laws and customs, can be brought into touch with the native population in this manner. Each township of sufficient size should have two justices of the peace and a like number of constables. The former will practically be arbitrators.

The law respecting fees will not apply to these officers. They should receive from complainants and for hearing cases fixed sums. The same regulation should apply to the constables. The object would be to prevent these officers from assessing excessive costs.

Appeals from these townships would be, as at present, to the court of common pleas, or if distance from country seats is to be considered, then, outside a radius of 30 miles, to the native commissioner, sitting with the executive officer of the township.

As we are dealing with a native population for the most part ignorant of letters, the constable should either be uniformed or carry some special symbol the use of which would be interdicted to the rest of the population, a heavy penalty being imposed for violation of law.

For military services the native population might be divided into two classes. The more spirited tribes will furnish fighters and the tribes who are unwarlike, military laborers and carriers. The contingent required should be settled in advance by the government, and not more than one-half of the male population called out at once.

Townships failing to furnish the required contingent would lose their territory.

The regulations with regard to clearing and keeping up the

roads and bridges which are in force in the Americo-Liberian township ought to be extended also to the native communities.

The districts beyond the forest might for the present be administered through traveling commissioners, who would advise and assist the local authorities, as President Gibson has recently suggested; but military convention with these tribes ought to be arranged, wherein, in return for abstaining from intertribal warfare and keeping the roads open for trade, the government would undertake their protection in case of attack.

It may be asked, How would you deal with polygamy and the domestic slavery?

As to the first, my view is that it be tolerated. Polygamy is but a stage in the social development of communities. It will gradually disappear as the native communities advance in civilization and with increase of sound moral and religious ideas.

There are already signs that the West African native is gradually becoming monogamic. The first wife has a fixed and superior position and governs the household. Her position might gradually be improved by legal enactments if it be deemed necessary to discourage polygamy.

Domestic slavery we stand pledged to abolish, but we must remove this evil in a just and equitable manner. I think that the government should act as the intermediary between master and slave. The master must receive compensation for the loss of service, and for this compensation the government would be responsible to him. It should take the freedman and his family, if any, under its protection, and hire him out for a limited period, receiving a certain portion of his wages against the expenditure incurred until the debt is paid.

Many of these people might be settled by government on small plots of public land and their labor advantageously utilized by artisans and farmers.

In dealing with the native population great caution should be exercised with respect to our choice of agents. Natives of the better class and the ruling chiefs are often very observant, intelligent, self-respecting, dignified, and high-toned persons. One has to be very careful in dealing with these people. If you have the reputation of being a man of position and a gentleman, you are expected, in native communities, to act up to it; otherwise you will have neither influence nor weight with them. That

money is wasted which is paid to the official representative who endeavors to obtain presents on specious and unworthy pretenses, who is unduly fond of the other sex or indulges too freely in drink, or is unable from his lack of intelligence to put his official case properly.

I do not think there can be a doubt but that the measure suggested will be successful. I point you to Maryland county. This county has a vigorous and rather intelligent native population. Handled in an improper manner, a rebellion broke out in 1875 which lasted in one form or other for about 21 years. It cost the Republic about a million of dollars. It could not by us be put down by force. In 1890 a loyal tribe, led by Christian converts, assisted, but unofficially, by the local authorities, put an end to the struggle, and did this of their own volition. The late President Cheeseman, by his wise and conciliatory behavior, did much for the influence of the Republic in that quarter. In that province the native chiefs now have commission; are encouraged to attend the superintendent's council; the land question has been satisfactorily arranged; facilities for direct intercourse with foreign traders granted. The Christian natives enjoy the right of suffrage, and are employed in the local administration. The county is entirely peaceful; intertribal warfare has almost ceased; hostile clans are encouraged to lay their grievances before the local government and have them by it examined and arranged. The population is now almost entirely loyal and attached to the interest of the Republic.

I must now direct attention to the local administrations and their relations to the central government.

Under the direction of the central government, located in this town, are six local administrations completely organized. These are those of the counties of Montserrado, Grand Bassa, Sinoe, and Maryland and of the districts of Grand Cape Mount and Marshall. At the head of each of these counties and districts a superintendent is placed whose duty at present is to disburse the county funds under warrant from the Treasury Department, and to supervise the officials in his province or district, all of whom are attached to some department, to the chief of which they report or should report.

The superintendent is regarded as the representative of the Executive in the local administration. It has been observed

(1) that there is no law which regulates clearly the time or the subjects upon which he is to report to the President; (2) that the superintendent is unable to supervise the local officials properly, because he does not receive from the heads of departments the copies of instructions transmitted to subordinates. It is very desirable that the superintendents be interdicted from making loans or accounts in the name of the Republic, or from anticipating the county fund. That power should be reserved to the Secretary of the Treasury. If assistance is needed the Secretary should decide how and in what manner the desired help is to be given. Very large sums of money have been lost to the country through the illegal action or criminal neglect of the superintendents. It is desirable also that your attention be directed to the legal position of the several counties. The Constitution contemplates the county, as a territorial unit, with corporate powers. Counties may bring actions against each other, in which case it is provided in the statutes that the corporate powers of the counties be exercised by commissioners. To the care of this county is confided, by law, public buildings and local property—prisons, asylums, roads, bridges—and the determination of expenditure for such purposes. Our smallest territorial unit is the township. These have been invested with corporate powers exercised by commissioners. The township has the power of taxation for corporate purposes, and has had assigned to its use most of the revenue arising from licenses taken out for the purpose of trading within their limits. The law respecting counties considered as corporations has never been carried out. There is no sort of control exercised over the township either by the central or local governments. Not one of the higher officials can tell you what is done with the township funds; and notwithstanding that they have the power of taxation and have the revenue from licenses, yet the legislature is perpetually donating to individuals living in townships money for the purpose of making and improving roads, cleaning out creeks, or erecting bridges. This money is spent generally without any reference to the township authorities. The work is often improperly done, if done at all, because it is not done under any sort of supervision; but the most regrettable feature of the whole arrangement is that the townships often oppose each other and retard by their obstinate action the improvement of local condi-

tions. If, for instance, the township of Arthington constructs roads suitable and passable for ox carts, Millsburg, which lies nearer the St. Paul's, refuses to do so, and so the desired improvement becomes impossible.

I suggest, therefore, that the legislature deal with this evil. All the organizations entrusted with local powers should be linked together and supervised. In the first place, the office of township commissioners should be abolished and their places taken by a single officer elected by the inhabitants. The treasurer, the overseer of roads, and the tax collector should be appointed by and be responsible to the mayor, and their reports might be by him laid before the town assembly. The mayor would, *ex officio*, be a member of the county council, of which I shall now speak.

The county council, invested with corporate powers already assigned counties, should be composed of the superintendent of the county, the officers who now by law compose his council, the native commissioner, and the mayors of the several townships. The native inhabitants might be for the present represented in the council by six or seven commissioned chiefs chosen by the superintendent in consultation with the commissioner of native African affairs and approved of by the President. The council would especially control roads, bridges throughout the county, make local improvements, and would suggest and control local expenditures for such objects. The council should meet quarterly. The local mayors should report to and be advised by this body.

The militia of the Republic has, on the whole, an excellent record, which it is desirable to maintain. At the call of the country they have, since the foundation of Liberia, appeared in every important district between the Manna and the Cavalla, and have patriotically and valiantly supported the interests of the State. In many instances their conduct has been admirable. A considerable body belonging during the disturbances at Cape Palmas in 1893 were kept embodied for six months, and on their return home could not be paid; they went quickly to their homes without a murmur. To promote its efficiency has been and still is one of the cherished objects of the administration.

With regard to the relations between the legislature and Executive I shall at present suggest but one innovation: that the

President and heads of departments embody and lay before the House in the form of bills the measures in regard to which they desire legislative action. Much time and misunderstanding might be saved if the heads of departments were allowed to explain proposed measures either before one of the houses or its committees.

The legislature has given effect to all measures suggested to secure that end. Yet the force has not improved. Indeed, its drill, discipline, and organization are very defective. The training is neither effective nor of a practical character. Reports recently placed before the government indicate that as an embodied force it is tending to become a greater danger to the loyal citizen and his property, which he ought to protect, than to the public enemy.

The government recently called out two detachments, one of 140 men, dispatched to Nana Kroo, and one of 80 men, ordered to accompany the Secretary of the Interior to Bopora. The reports respecting two detachments are exactly the same—lack of control on the part of officers—and the men, although paid in advance, and sufficiently supplied, manifesting a disposition to live at their ease on the country, and to deprive its loyal populations of their property.

The detachment sent from Grand Bassa to Nana Kroo took from that community cattle to the value of about $2,000, and it remained there but 18 days. The chiefs laid the blame on the officer in command, who, they pointed out, neglected to restrain his men. If the militia of the Republic treat loyal populations as if they were enemies, instead of friends, why every one can see what the results will be. Embodied, not restrained by its officers, or refusing to submit to discipline, it will everywhere move in the midst of unfriendly populations anxious to get rid of it as soon as possible, and by any means, in order to save their property. After consultation with leading officers, the administration will probably ask your approval of bills providing:

1st. That schools of instruction for officers be set up, and that all officers must pass an examination for staff appointments.

2d. That when officers on the staff of a regiment become candidates for the legislature or members thereof, they shall be placed on the reserve list until the disability be removed.

3d. For the formation of companies of cadets from among the male pupils of the public schools, commencing with Liberia College, where two hours on each Saturday should be devoted to drill and instruction. An officer would be detailed for the purpose. This measure has been frequently suggested by the present Secretary of War.

4th. That the several regiments be required to go into camps of instruction at least for a week in each year. The latter part of the month of February would, perhaps, be a suitable period; the Government to furnish rations.

5th. That the proper department designate the books which every officer must have, and see that all are of the same edition.

6th. For the formation and instruction of a small artillery corps.

AGRICULTURE.

The little attention at present paid to agriculture and the discouragement which farmers are still laboring under, due to the low prices of coffee and the consequent set-back which has been given to the industry, make it urgently necessary that the Government do all in its power to assist and encourage those engaged therein. There can be no doubt that farming is to be the principal industry of Liberia, and that the prosperity of its people lies in that direction.

There must come a time in the history of the country when the forest products which now form the principal articles of exportation will gradually disappear as the waste lands and forests are occupied, cut down, and utilized by a people rapidly increasing in number. We should strive more to awaken among the people an interest in the land and stir them up to till the soil.

I call attention to the fact that, seated in one of the richest districts in West Africa, capable of supplying all the breadstuffs and meats and fruit we need and of affording a large surplus for exportation, India is supplying us with rice, Europe and North America with flour, fish, meat, sugar, and fruit—articles which are easily produced in this country. In the 16 rural townships of this county only about one-third of the people really work. Labor is the law of life. The tendency to become dependent and to live at the expense of our neighbors must be

resisted. They do not at present raise in these townships sufficient cassada for local needs. The native communities are rapidly following our example. We must endeavor to remedy as soon as possible this state of affairs. We need besides this to encourage the growth of two or more staple articles, products in constant demand, whose culture will afford a profit to the farmer.

To secure this end the government must act as the father of the people. It must agitate, it must experiment, it must teach, and it must reward successful results; and in this effort it ought to be strongly and enthusiastically supported by the leading citizens.

Supporting the views so often expressed by my predecessor, I urge upon the legislature, most of whom have been elected by the Whig party, which has received for many years the undeviating support of the farmers, the passage of a bill providing for the appointment of a Commissioner of Agriculture, with a committee in each township, Americo-Liberian as well as native, for the dissemination of agricultural information, the distribution of seeds, and the culture of plants new to the country, economically or commercially valuable.

It is probable that rubber, cotton, and cocoa would form suitable staples. The first is being tried successfully in the German colony of Cameroon. The forests of the country are rich in rubber-bearing plants. The Liberian Rubber Syndicate, from whose operations the Treasury was benefited, first and last, to the extent of $150,000, obtained, among other things, a grant of 500 acres of land in each county for forming rubber plantations.

The management will be asked to give effect, as soon as possible, to that part of their agreement for the benefit of the farmers. Rubber grown as staple will not in any way be affected by the lease to the syndicate. That refers only to public lands.

The present price of West African rubber is about two shillings per pound.

A plantation of rubber trees covering 25 acres ought to bring to its fortunate possessor a gross income of not less than $1,000 a year, even if the value of rubber fell 100 per cent.

According to a statement sent me by a firm of English merchants, an acre planted in cotton will yield about 250 pounds of lint, worth 6 cents per pound. The gross return would thus be

about $15 an acre. A Liberian farmer accustomed to the culture of cotton estimated the probable yield on our best lands at 500 pounds of lint, in which case of course the gross return would be $30. The average between these is twenty-two and a half dollars per acre. Cotton, which is in constant demand, would be a reliable staple. Cocoa is more difficult to propagate than coffee, but would pay better. It grows very well in this country and the output is gradually increasing.

A reasonable sum should be annually appropriated for literature and experimental stations.

I now turn to questions affecting our external relations, and first in order stands:

OUR COMMERCIAL POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THE MERCHANTS OF NATIONS WITH WHOM WE HAVE TREATIES.

In discussing this question we should approach it not from the standpoint of passion or prejudices, but discuss it in a dispassionate, calm, and cool manner.

I have never heard our present commercial policy defended on any other ground than that of fear of the European; and in this term I would like to be understood as including the white American.

Now, has the European during the last eighty years given a reasonable ground to doubt his good intentions to us as a people?

After an impartial survey of his relations to this community for nearly a century I must answer no.

Liberia was purchased for us from its native inhabitants by the European. The colony was founded by the European; its expenses paid by the money of the European, until it declared its independence. They lavished their money on the establishment of schools and churches and other charities for the elevation of successive bodies of Negro colonists.

These facts are candidly acknowledged in our Declaration of Independence. That instrument says:

"The western coast of Africa was the place selected by American philanthropy for our future home."

Again:

"Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society we established ourselves here.

"Under the auspices and guidance of this institution we have grown and prospered.

"No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores, nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high consideration of those who aided us in providing this asylum."

Full justice is in these quotations rendered to the motives of the European. If in the stress of the early days of the colony a colored American laid down his life that Liberia might exist, it cannot be denied that native Africans and Europeans likewise sacrificed themselves to secure the same end. Their mingled bones lie here in this historic town.

Our independence declared, next thing was to get it acknowledged. Applying to Great Britain for countenance and support, she at once threw around us her powerful arms; France did the same. Prussia, now the leading State of the German Empire, also hastened to accord recognition to the new State. Everywhere the Negro representatives of Liberia were kindly and sympathetically received. England exerted influence and bestowed gunboats, France arms and munitions of war.

In the struggles against the slave-traders, as in the combats with the tribes, necessary to sustain the prestige of the new State, the European invariably gave his support and assistance to the new community.

France especially bound herself to the interests of our State, as against the natives, in the following article, found in the text of her first treaty with Liberia:

"The French government engages never to interfere in the affairs between the aboriginal inhabitants and the government of Liberia in the jurisdiction and territories of the Republic. Should any citizen suffer loss in person or property from violence by the aboriginal inhabitants, and the government of the Republic should not be able to bring the aggressor to justice, the French government engages, a requisition having been first made therefor by the Liberian government, to lend such aid as may be required. Citizens of France residing in the territories of the Republic are desired to abstain from all such intercourse with the aboriginal inhabitants as will tend to the violation of law and the disturbance of the peace of the country."

All the other European nations having West African interests approved this stipulation and acted accordingly.

It was an European, too, who made possible the annexation of the State of Maryland, in Liberia, to the Republic, and although we have lost the greater portion of that beautiful territory, what remains is still a valuable province.

I need not continue a perhaps wearisome enumeration of the obligations under which we have been placed as a people by the European.

Many favors received by us not mentioned here will spontaneously recur to you.

By our organic statute we shut him out from citizenship and denied him the right of holding real estate in fee-simple. No objection was offered to this by the European. The correctness of the principle was at once acknowledged.

The illustrious Washington, the first President of the United States of America, in his farewell address to his countrymen upon retirement from public life, remarked "that it is folly for one nation to look for disinterested favors from another."

The European, having stood shoulder to shoulder with us in the organization and building up of this State, naturally expects his reward. Shut out from privilege and property, but one thing remained with which to compensate him for his services. That was commercial freedom.

The fathers of the country, the men who took the decisive step of declaring our independence, hastened to accord this to him; but our policy of commercial freedom to the European lasted but fifteen short years.

Within that period commenced those bitter party struggles which for many years retarded the advancement and progress of the country, and so retrogression set in. In 1863, on a suspicion that Europeans incited the natives to rebel, but probably at the dictation of the Liberian traders, then all powerful with the electorate, the port-of-entry bill was passed.

Our European friends protested, but they loyally obeyed the law and withdrew their factories and ships from the coast.

A suspicion became prevalent that we were ungrateful, and interest in Liberia and the Liberians gradually grew less.

The interests of the world are so linked that the decline of interest in us and in our affairs publicly reacted against us in more than one direction.

Our policy probably caused that slackening in missionary

effort and work in Liberia which, after the passage of the port-of-entry law, became more and more apparent in some directions each succeeding year.

But it is more, perhaps, to the purpose to inquire whether we were helped by this departure from original lines?

The restrictive policy has been persisted in forty years. Are our traders richer than they were in 1864? Has the national capital increased? Did the exclusion of the European trader prevent native wars? No, they went on as before, and indeed became more formidable, and often were not allayed but by the assistance and direct intervention of that suspicious person.

He is still our banker. He still furnishes capital for our business enterprises. His money is still being poured out to build churches, to pay ministers, serving not only native, but also Americo-Liberian congregations. He is still founding schools and colleges for our youth.

Another question: Did the chiefs of the State approve of the departure of 1863? It is understood that the most thoughtful and able among them regretted and condemned it. I mention Roberts, Benson, Warner. President Payne sought to modify the law; President Cheeseman called a conference to discuss the possibility of a more liberal policy.

The question has been since 1864 a source of worry and perplexity to all the Secretaries of State.

It is true we govern ourselves, but are we really independent? If you admit the facts stated above, then we cannot afford to take our own course.

The representatives of the commercial powers are still pressing for a solution of the question. Asked for a suitable solution, I say conciliate, compromise, be just; for States which persistently pursue narrow and obstructive policies have no friends.

There is an interesting bit of cotemporaneous history to be found in recent papers.

The United States some time ago determined to build the canal across the isthmus of Panama. The country belonged to Colombia, a South American power. Its government ventured in this matter to pursue an obstructive policy. The State of Panama, in Colombia, successfully revolted. Its independence was at once acknowledged by the United States. The canal will be built. All the great powers have hastened to express their

approval of the action of the great American Republic. What conclusion do you draw from this incident?

And what today is the commercial situation? In our own settlements trade is in a state of stagnation and unremunerative capital is preparing to seek new and more inviting fields. The railway on the Mana river will affect unfavorably for us a large section of Northern Liberia. The French road now being constructed between Konakry and the Ivory Coast will eventually affect our position in Eastern Liberia.

We can only save and develop our hinterland by the help of the European trader.

IMMIGRATION.

This question profoundly interests us.

Placed in the midst of a large semi-civilized population, there is a great desire that we have more centers of civilization.

The Liberian has been wont to regard the country as held in trust for his relative in the United States.

The colored American, or rather the class which would be a valuable acquisition to the country—the men of some culture, the small capitalist, and the man of initiative and push—is not inclined at present to come to Africa. The leaders of the colored people are opposed to immigration to Liberia. They are in the fight for social and political equality with the white American. The success of the struggle is for them very doubtful, if not entirely hopeless.

The Negro masses are being lifted gradually and are slowly learning self-reliance, thrift, and initiative.

It is important that the intending immigrant possess those qualities, and it cannot be denied that the country is not prepared for the movement. While preparing a home, the immigrant must have facilities for procuring work. At present these do not exist.

There is a class of men now slowly coming into the country who will likely prove a most useful acquisition. They are rather above the average. As the country develops and opportunities offer, they will encourage their friends to come over. This class should zealously be encouraged. About the mass our policy should be, "Hasten slowly."

The government ought to have its own agencies for immigration located in the United States. They should give the necessary information, which ought to be truthful and exact. To settle a thousand people annually in Liberia would entail a yearly expenditure of at least $120,000.

I regret the glowing accounts so often published with respect to Liberia. It attracts an undesirable class of persons who are as useless here as in America.

The late Professor Stevens, Superintendent of Public Instruction, two years ago in an address delivered before the citizens of Monrovia, spoke of the Americo-Liberians as constituting the advance guard of the race returning to its habitat. If true, then the work of the advance guard is not yet complete. Some ground has been cleared, but two facts must be put beyond doubt—the permanent friendly attitude of the local populations and the existence and successful growth of some staple in constant demand, to the culture of which the Negro immigrant on his arrival in the country may with certainty of success devote his attention.

But that the United States is not the only source from which we may draw desirable immigration has long been recognized.

We have the West Indies and English West African colonies. A large and increasing number of Sierra Leoneans, which people with those of Liberia constitute at present the largest Negro-English speaking population on the West Coast, are now settling in the country. It is an interesting fact.

It may have far-reaching consequences. Be hospitable and liberal, conciliate the populations in the colonies around you, and they will help you to tide over things until our relatives abroad shall come to our assistance.

It may be interesting and useful to call your attention to

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHURCH AS A POLITICAL FACTOR.

A distinguished writer on the science of morals says:

"There has never been a nation without some sort of religion, nor a civil government which religious influences have not to a greater or lesser degree molded. As an historical fact, nations and governments and religions have everywhere a connection, not only most intimate, but which has thus far shown itself in-

dissoluble." The nation finds its unifying bond and the government its vivifying power in religion.

Seated amid a heathen population of our own race, with whom the work of amalgamation has already commenced, the manner and the direction in which the influence of the church is exercised and its modes of procedure become politically of paramount importance. It has been pointed out that the family is the unit of civilization. To preserve and influence the family has always been the cherished object of the church.

The next object has been to unite families into Christian communities, and so the work of organization and unification continually goes on, until the links are coterminous with the habitat of the people affected.

The church seeks to remove the isolation that tends to grow on between class and class, tribe and tribe, and to cultivate between individuals and communities amity, sympathy, and brotherhood. Its work in this respect makes for the effacement of social and tribal distinction and the bringing about of national unison. The church everywhere inculcates respect for authority and obedience of law. Government voices the wishes of the people they represent. But those desires are often molded, modified, or given up altogether by and through the influence of the church.

The educative and moral influences of the church are enormous. The church is the balance wheel of the civilized world. The church and state, then, must move hand in hand.

Every convert from heathenism to the Christian faith in this country is also a political recruit. What influence he retains with old heathen friends is naturally exerted in behalf of his new associates and for their benefit.

The educative and religious work of the Protestant Episcopal mission in the county of Maryland has been of enormous political use to Liberia. I am afraid that our people have appreciated neither its value nor its significance.

The idea of rearing up a native pastorate which has not been followed up lately, owing possibly to the unfortunate events of 1874, was a grand one. Let us hope that the work in that direction will be resumed and pressed. We were to blame for the troubles of 1875. The Republic has nowhere in the country more loyal and devoted citizens than among the Christian Gre-

boes of the county of Maryland, and we must thank the Episcopal mission for it. It is helping us, too, by its work among the Vey tribe.

The Baptist denomination, too, has also performed a most important work from a national standpoint. It has striven to build up a church as well as a school, independent and self-reliant.

I am glad to see that the M. E. church has resumed its missionary operations among the heathen tribes. Liberia is the oldest mission field. The heathen tribes are almost untouched by Christian influence. The progress of the faith of Islam has been, I believe, exaggerated.

The church has not failed because its converts do not at once conform to the highest standard of faith and morals.

I am anxious that the State should interest itself with the church to attain two objects:

First. The education and creation of a native pastorate. The faith and teachings of Christ cannot properly and adequately be presented through interpreters.

Second. To bring about an agreement between the several denominations not to interfere with each other's work within defined districts. To be clear, I mean that if the Protestant church has established missions in the Vey country, Presbyterians would not be permitted to do so. They must choose another and unoccupied district.

The heathen man is often very observant. He is surprised and repelled when he sees a minister of the Baptist church refused admittance to the pulpit of the Anglican communion or the Baptists refuse the cup to acknowledged Christians who are not of their persuasion.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Among the things ardently desired by us has been improved communications. If the idea of the county council is approved a great opportunity will be afforded for much useful work for the improvement of internal communications.

The invention of wireless telegraphy and its successful application to practical uses affords us an opportunity for linking together the country, as well as of communicating with passing ships fitted with proper apparatus. My attention has been

called to the De Forest system, already in use in many cities of the United States. It is stated that the seaboard towns might be placed in communication with each other by about six stations, equipment costing about $10,000. The up-keep would cost about $4,000 annually, against which would be credited the revenue from messages. The value of the improvement to the government alone would be worth the money expended.

In order that there may be no error, and that advantage may be taken of the latest improvement, I would suggest that the sum of one thousand dollars be appropriated for the system preliminary to its introduction.

OUR FINANCE.

Money is one of the great resources of political power and a means of territorial aggrandizement. Show me a State at the zenith of power and prosperity, and I shall be able to point to a properly conducted and well-ordered financial management. Among millions of men there will only be a few who can strike the rock of national finance with success and effect.

If things go well and prosperously, the man at the financial helm ought to be let alone. His views, unless baneful to national industry, are in most countries criticised indeed, but not disregarded. The continual interference of the legislature with the tariff, with plans approved of by itself, and with results has been extremely hurtful to the financial interests of the country.

The legislature constitutes the most powerful branch of the government, but there are situations in which it must abstain from undue interference and from passing money bills not warranted by the financial condition of the country. Under white as well as black administrators an almost empty treasury has been the rule. If some financial light appears amid the gloom, it is immediately quenched by an act of some sort about the passage of which the Secretary of the Treasury is either not consulted or the advice tendered by him ignored. If this was stopped, I think plans could be devised enabling us to pay our way. *The man in the street cannot finance the government.* He is ignorant of the *vital* facts.

The press of the country asks, Why do we tax exports? I proceed to answer the question. Except coffee, ginger, and

cocoa, our exports are all forest products, which every one gathers as he feels disposed. But these are obtained on lands belonging to the State and are an asset of great value. All States derive some revenue from their public domain; some a very large one. Liberia secures this branch of her revenue by a fixed tariff collected at the places of exportation. The forest products are, as you know, of spontaneous growth. Industry, in the strict sense, is not hampered. Coffee, cocoa, and ginger are not taxed. Timber and some other forest products escape taxation, although cutting of the timber decreases the value of the land.

It should be noted that the tax on the income from forest products forms more than a third of the public revenue.

CONCLUSION.

I shall now enter upon the duties of the high office assigned me. May the Great Being, whose instruments we are, grant to us all wisdom and understanding.

I rely with confidence upon the support of the country and the leaders of the Whig party, whose standard bearer I am.

Fourteen general elections successively indicate that the people approve its policy and aims. The party has been, on the whole, patriotic and unselfish. It has not always asked that men be of their stripe. It has only required that they serve their country.

It has accorded recognition to all classes of the population. It has *trebled* the revenue. It has endeavored to increase the circulation of hard money. It has strengthened public credit at home and abroad. It has striven to some extent to circulate, do justice to, and satisfy the native population, especially in Maryland county. *Within* the measure of the public means, it has accorded a liberal support to the educational interests of the country. It has been tolerant toward its political opponents. It is cautiously feeling its way to a national policy in accord with the ideas of the twentieth century.

It has striven to promote the introduction of capital into the country, and this could only be done through the much-decried *concessions*, whose sphere of operations has been carefully confined to the forests and waste lands, and the income from which has materially benefited the country.

With this great record let us cheerfully take up the work before us. The country supports us. Let us be courageous. Provide for the government of the native population and their gradual inclusion into the citizenship of the country. Let us zealously encourage agriculture. Let us accord to the European a greater measure of commercial freedom. Let us uphold and defend the cause of morality and religion. Let us be conciliatory and just to all and so *secure* for our *beloved country* the approbation and friendship of *all* nations.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

CAN THE SOUTH SOLVE THE NEGRO PROBLEM?

CARL SCHURZ.

In the recent public discussions of the race problem in the United States, occasional reference has been made to a report submitted by me to President Johnson in 1865. At the request of the President I had visited the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana for the purpose of studying their condition and of laying the results of my observations before him. It may be profitable at the present moment to recall that condition, inasmuch as thus some light may be shed upon the origin and purpose of the so-called reconstruction measures, to which the gravest of the difficulties prevailing in the southern country are now attributed.

When I set out on that tour of investigation, only three months had elapsed since the close of the Civil War. The Confederate soldiers had but recently returned to their homes. They found those homes, wherever touched by military operations, more or less devastated, and, in almost every instance, in a greatly neglected if not dilapidated state. During the Civil War the resources of the South had wholly been devoted to the support of the Confederate government and its armies, and therefore, economically speaking, wasted. The Confederate money in the hands of the Southern people was absolutely worthless. Want and misery stared them in the face. Their sustenance, for the time being, depended on the crops to be raised that summer. Until then, the plantations had been cultivated by slave labor;

but the slaves had been declared free. During the war a large number of the Negroes had still remained on the plantations doing their accustomed work; but the complete discomfiture of the Southern armies made the decree of emancipation effective everywhere. Negro slavery had come to a sudden end, and thus the whole agricultural labor system of the South—the only labor system known and believed in by the Southern people—was entirely upset and made inoperative.

It is not surprising that, mortified by their defeat and chafing under the urgent necessities of their situation, the white people of the South should have been in a desperate state of mind—a state of mind eminently unfitted for calm and judicious reasoning, and especially for the solution of problems calling for equanimity and patience. But for this excited state of mind they would perhaps at once have recognized the fact that the emancipation of the slaves was irrevocable, and that the only sensible and profitable course open to the late master class was to accommodate themselves to the new order of things as best they could and to set the former slaves to work as free laborers, peaceably, in a friendly spirit, and on fair terms. But two things stood in the way. One was a traditional and stubborn prejudice. Wherever on my tour of investigation I tried to discuss with Southern men the immediate problem to be solved, which I did every day, I was constantly met by the assertion, "You cannot make the Negro work without physical compulsion." In the language of my report, "I heard this hundreds of times; heard it wherever I went; heard it in nearly the same words from so many different persons that at last I came to the conclusion that this was the prevailing sentiment among the Southern people. There were exceptions to this rule, but far from enough to affect the rule. In the accompanying documents you will find an abundance of proof in support of this statement. There is hardly a paper relative to the Negro question annexed to this report which does not in some direct or indirect way corroborate it. Unfortunately, the disorders necessarily growing out of the transition state continually furnished food for argument. I found but few people who were willing to make due allowance for the adverse influence of exceptional circumstances. By a large majority of those I came in contact with, and they mostly belonged to the more intelligent class, every irregularity that

occurred was directly charged against the system of free labor. If Negroes walked away from the plantations it was conclusive proof of the incorrigible instability of the Negro and the impracticability of free labor. If some individual Negro violated the terms of his contract, it proved unanswerably that no Negro had or ever would have a just conception of the binding force of a contract, and that this system of free Negro labor was bound to be a failure. If some Negroes shirked or did not perform their task with sufficient alacrity, it was produced as irrefutable evidence to show that physical compulsion was absolutely indispensable to make the Negro work. If Negro idlers or refugees crawling about the town applied to the authorities for subsistence, it was quoted as incontestably establishing the point that the Negro was too improvident to take care of himself and must necessarily be consigned to the care of a master. I heard a Georgia planter argue most seriously that one of his Negroes had shown himself certainly unfit for freedom because he impudently refused to submit to a whipping. I frequently went into an argument with those putting forth such general assertions, quoting instances in which Negro laborers were working faithfully and to the entire satisfaction of their employers, as the employers themselves informed me. In a majority of cases the reply was that we Northern people did not understand the Negro, but that they (the Southerners) did; that, as to the particular instances I quoted, I was probably mistaken; that I had not closely investigated the cases or had been deceived by my informants; that *they knew* the Negro would not work without compulsion, and that no one could make them believe he would. Arguments like these naturally finished such discussions. It frequently struck me that persons who conversed about every other subject calmly and sensibly would lose their temper as soon as the Negro question was touched.

Of course, the natural impulse of people entertaining such sentiments, and exasperated by their immediate necessities, was to resort to that "physical compulsion" without which, in their opinion, the Negro would not work. For this they found, unfortunately, not infrequent occasion in the conduct of a certain number of Negroes. In one respect, the behavior of the Negroes immediately after their emancipation was remarkable. It is probable that some of them had suffered cruel punishments or

other harsh treatment while in the condition of slavery, but not one act of vengeance on the part of a Negro after emancipation is on record. On the contrary, there were many instances of singularly faithful and self-sacrificing attachment of Negroes to their former masters and their families. Neither could they, at that period, be charged with many criminal excesses beyond pig and chicken stealing. But their ideas as to what use they might or should make of their newly won freedom were rather dim and confused. A good many of them—probably, indeed, a very large majority—remained on the plantations and continued their work under some sort of contract arrangement with their former masters; but other colored people, a not inconsiderable number, followed the natural impulse of testing the quality of their freedom by walking away from the places on which they had been held to labor, and by wandering to the nearest town or military post "to have a good time" for a while. Still others made contracts with the planters and then broke them with or without cause. All this and much more of the same sort would, under the circumstances, not have appeared surprising to cool and unprejudiced minds, but rather as the inevitable concomitant of so great a revolution as was the sudden liberation from slavery of several millions of human beings. These were comparatively slight disorders, which, if kindly and prudently met, would in a great measure soon have been righted. But against these irregular movements "physical compulsion," without which, in the Southerner's opinion, the Negroes would not work at all, was fiercely put in action. Some planters held back their former slaves on their plantations by brute force; armed bands of white men patrolled the country roads to drive back the Negroes wandering about; dead bodies of murdered Negroes were found on and near the highways and by-paths; gruesome reports came from the hospitals—reports of colored men and women whose ears had been cut off; whose skulls had been broken by blows; whose bodies had been slashed with knives or lacerated with scourges.

A number of such cases I had occasion to examine myself. A veritable reign of terror prevailed in many parts of the South. The Negro found scant justice in the local courts against the white man. He could look for protection only to the military forces of the United States still garrisoning the "States lately in

rebellion" and to the Freedmen's Bureau—that Freedmen's Bureau, the original purpose of which was to act as an intermediary between the planters and the emancipated slaves, the white and the black, to aid them in the making of equitable contract arrangements, and, generally, in organizing the new free labor system for the benefit of both. It would have been an institution of the greatest value under competent leadership, had not its organization been to some extent invaded by mentally and morally unfit persons. That this imperfect organization and the corresponding failures in its conduct prevented it in so large a measure from accomplishing its object cannot be too much deplored; for nothing was more needed at that time than an authority standing between the late master and the late slave, commanding and possessing the confidence and respect of both, to aid the emancipated black man in making the best possible use of his unaccustomed freedom, and to aid the white man, to whom free Negro labor was a well-nigh inconceivable idea, in meeting the difficulties which partly existed in reality and were partly conjured up by the white man's prejudice and inflamed imagination.

That the Freedmen's Bureau actually did much valuable service in this direction cannot be denied. It did protect many freedmen against violence and prevailed on many others to abstain from breaking their contracts with white men, and to stay at work. It helped in developing the work of education among the blacks, which had been started by benevolent Northern people with admirable energy and self-sacrifice during the Civil War, wherever the national army controlled any district of country largely peopled by blacks. But the shortcomings of the general management of the Freedman's Bureau, and the ill-suited qualifications of some of its agents and representatives, greatly impaired that moral authority which was especially required for so comprehensive and delicate a task.

The second great difficulty, and of worse effect even than the partial failure of the Freedmen's Bureau, was the precipitate course of President Johnson with regard to the reconstruction of the Southern State governments. During the civil war, and even immediately after his election to the Vice-Presidency, Mr. Johnson was one of the fiercest "rebel-haters." His "loyalty" to the Union was of the most unforgiving, most uncompromising,

and merciless kind. The burden of his daily talk was that "rebellion was treason, and that treason was a crime which must be made odious;" that this was to be accomplished by meting out the severest punishment to the instigators and leaders of the rebellion, and that hanging was not too good for them." There seemed to be reason for apprehending that, if Mr. Johnson should come into power, the victory of the Union armies might be tarnished by relentless severity in the treatment of the vanquished. But no sooner had he actually been raised to power by the assassination of Lincoln than he began to initiate a policy which, if carried through, would have subjected the "States lately in rebellion" almost instantly and absolutely to the control of the men whom but recently he had denounced as fit for the gallows.

In June, 1865, he issued a proclamation concerning the reorganization of the State government of North Carolina, some provisions of which were judged by many friends of the administration as somewhat hasty. Letters expressing that opinion were received by the President, and similar criticism appeared in several of the most important newspapers. It was at that time that the President surprised me with the request that I should investigate the conditions prevailing in the Gulf States for him. In the conversations preceding my departure for the South he designated his North Carolina proclamation, not as the expression of a fixed plan definitely determined upon, but as an "experiment." Before going further he "would wait and see" how the proposed method of reconstruction might work practically; but he did not wait and see. He caused it to be generally understood that the "States lately in rebellion" would speedily be reconstructed, their people—meaning the white people—to elect their legislatures and executive as well as judicial officers as before the war. When asked by the provisional governor of Mississippi and other Southern men for permission to organize the local militia, he readily gave his consent; whereupon the provisional governor of Mississippi forthwith called upon "the young men of the State who had so distinguished themselves for gallantry"—meaning, of course, Confederate soldiers—to respond promptly to this call. The result was that efforts were made to reorganize county patrols, which "had already been in existence and had to be disbanded on account of their hostility to Northern people and freedmen."

The known attitude of President Johnson concerning the speedy reconstruction of the "States lately in rebellion" produced an effect that might easily have been foreseen. The white people of the South might have accommodated themselves in good faith to the introduction of free labor in the place of slavery, in spite of their prejudices and their traditional habits of life, had that introduction been presented to them as a stern and inexorable necessity. A good many of the difficulties standing in its way would have been overcome had the white people become convinced that there was absolutely nothing else to do. But when they heard that the President was willing, and even eager, without delay to put the entire management of their internal affairs into their hands again, they saw the way open for a sweeping reaction against the emancipation policy. The temptation was irresistible. The conviction that the Negro would not work without physical compulsion grew stronger among them than ever. A little over two months after the close of the war, one of the provisional governors admitted that the people in his State still indulged in the lingering hope that slavery might yet be preserved. That lingering hope now spread visibly. In public argument the emancipation proclamation was by hot-headed extremists denounced as unconstitutional and of no force, and this denunciation was frantically applauded by large multitudes. Although the necessity of accepting the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution was generally recognized, it was hoped that it could effectively be neutralized by State and municipal action. Various parishes in Louisiana and municipal bodies in other States adopted ordinances of which provisions like the following, constantly recurring, were characteristic:

"No Negro or freedman shall be allowed to come within the limits of the town without special permission from his employer, specifying the object of his visit and the time necessary for the accomplishment of the same. Whoever shall violate this provision shall suffer imprisonment and two days' work in the public streets or shall pay a fine of $2.50.

"Every Negro is required to be in the regular service of some white person or former owner, who shall be responsible for the conduct of said Negro. But said employer or former owner may permit said Negro to hire his own time, by special per-

mission in writing, which permit shall not extend over seven days at any one time. Any Negro violating the provisions of this section shall be fined $5 for each offense, or, in default of the payment thereof, shall be forced to work five days on the public road or suffer corporeal punishment, as hereinafter provided.

"No public meetings or congregations of Negroes shall be allowed after sunset, but such public meetings and congregations may be held between the hours of sunrise and sunset, by the special permission in writing of the captain of patrol within whose beat such meetings should take place. This prohibition, however, is not intended to prevent Negroes from the usual church services conducted by white ministers and priests. (Fine for violating this provision $5, or five days' work on the public road or corporeal punishment.)

"No Negro shall be permitted to preach, exhort, or otherwise declaim to congregations of colored people without special permission in writing from the president of the police jury. (Fine $10, or ten days' work or corporeal punishment.)

"No Negro shall sell, barter, or exchange any article of merchandise without the special written permission of his employer, specifying the articles of sale or barter or traffic. (Fine $1 for each offense, forfeiture of said articles, or work on the public road or corporeal punishment.)

"All the foregoing provisions shall apply to Negroes of both sexes.

"It shall be the duty of every citizen to act as a police officer for the detection of offenses and the apprehension of offenders, who shall be immediately handed over to the proper captain or chief of patrol.

"The aforesaid penalties shall be summarily enforced, and it shall be the duty of the captains and chiefs of patrol to see that the aforesaid ordinances are promptly executed."

Evidently the condition of the person laboring under such ordinances would be, if not slavery in terms, something closely akin to it. Under such a régime the Negro, if only temporarily the slave of an individual owner, would always have been the slave of the white people at large. When, as was provided in some of the ordinances, "every citizen" (meaning, of course, every white man) was authorized and commanded "to act as a

police officer for the detection of such offenses and the apprehension of such offenders," and when such "penalties were to be summarily enforced," and it was put in the power and made the duty of captains and chiefs of patrol to see that the aforesaid ordinances were promptly executed, the freedman in name was little, if at all, better than a slave in fact.

The men who designed and formulated such ordinances, which in a somewhat changed form reappeared in the enactments of southern legislatures, hoped, of course, that they would be permitted to carry them out, and they believed to see in President Johnson's attitude excellent reason for that hope. It was not surprising that under such circumstances acts of violence against freedmen multiplied, that the patrols or "militia companies" became more active in capturing stray Negroes, and that the reign of terror grew more and more like that of the old slavery times. The only influence which, to some extent, restrained this violent reactionary movement consisted in the continual presence of the Federal troops, who at that time were governed by the orders of the War Department under Secretary Edwin M. Stanton. The protection of the freedmen by the Federal forces was, of course, submitted to by the whites, but in most cases sullenly and with an important mental reservation. With the same mental reservation—a reservation not at all concealed, but openly avowed—several things were submitted to, the acceptance of which was known to be necessary in order to bring about the restoration of the Southern States to full control of their local affairs.

On this point I said in my report to President Johnson:

"When speaking of popular demonstrations in the South in favor of submission to the Government, I stated that the principal and almost the only argument used was that they found themselves in a situation in which they could do no better. It was the same thing with regard to the abolition of slavery. If abolition was publicly acquiesced in, whether in popular meetings or in State conventions, it was on the ground of necessity, not infrequently with the significant addition that, as soon as they had once more control of their own State affairs, they would settle the labor question to suit themselves, whatever they might have to submit to for the present. Not only did I find this to be the common talk among the people, but the same sentiment

was openly avowed by public men in speech and print. Some declarations of that kind, made by persons of great prominence, have passed into the newspapers and are undoubtedly known to you. I append to this report a specimen, not as something particularly remarkable, but in order to present the current sentiment as expressed in the language of a candidate for a seat in the State convention of Mississippi. It is a card addressed to the voters of Wilkinson county, Mississippi, by Gen. W. L. Brandon. The General complains of having been called an 'unconditional emancipationist, an abolitionist.' He indignantly repels the charge, and avows himself a good pro-slavery man. 'But, fellow-citizens,' says he, 'what I may in common with you have to submit to is a very different thing. Slavery has been taken from us; the power that has already practically abolished it threatens totally and forever to abolish it. But does it follow that I am in favor of this thing? By no means. My honest conviction is we must accept the situation as it is, until we can get control once more of our own State affairs. We cannot do otherwise to get our place again in the Union, and occupy a position, exert an influence, that will protect us against greater evils which threaten us. I must, as any other man who votes or holds an office, submit for the time to evils I cannot remedy.' General Brandon has only put in print what, as my observations lead me to believe, a majority of the people say even in more emphatic language, and the deliberations of several legislatures in that part of the country show what it means."

The same expectation served also to embarrass and impede the efforts made for the education of the freedmen. Aside from several honorable exceptions, I found the popular prejudice against Negro education almost as bitter as it had been when slavery still existed. Hundreds of times I heard the old assertion repeated that "learning will spoil the Negro for work," and that "Negro education would be the ruin of the South," and in innumerable instances I discovered symptoms of the amazing notion that "the elevation of the blacks would be the degradation of the whites." The consequence of all this was that, in a large number of places, Negro schools could be established and maintained only under the immediate protection of the Federal troops, and that, once the military garrisons were withdrawn,

school-houses would be set on fire and the teachers driven off. This opposition to Negro schools, too, received a strong impulse from the expectation so much encouraged by President Johnson, that the late slave States would soon again be in unrestricted control of their home affairs, and that Negro education, being an impediment in the way of reëstablishment of an order of things nearly akin to slavery, would then again be done away with.

Such was the condition of things in the late Confederate States shortly after the civil war. In investigating it at the request of President Johnson, I honestly endeavored to see things as they were; I neglected no source of information open to me; I talked with all classes of people and improved every opportunity to observe with my own eyes. And when I reported to the President, I took care rather to understate than to overcolor my facts and conclusions, and as much as possible to let my authorities speak for themselves.

To recapitulate: The white people of the South were harassed by pressing necessities, and most of them in a troubled and greatly excited state of mind. The emancipation of the slaves had destroyed the traditional labor system upon which they had depended. Free Negro labor was still inconceivable to them. There were exceptions, but as a rule their ardent and, in a certain sense, not unnatural desire was to resist its introduction and to save or restore as much of the slave-labor system as possible. The Government of the Union was in duty and honor bound to maintain the emancipation of the slaves and to introduce free labor. The solution of such a problem would have been extremely difficult under any circumstances. It was in this case especially complicated by the partial failure of the Freedmen's Bureau, and still more by the decided encouragement given to the reactionary tendency prevailing among the Southern whites by the attitude of President Johnson, which permitted the Southern whites to expect that they would soon have the power to reëstablish something similar to slave labor.

There was, no doubt, a general and sincere desire among the Northern people to restore the "States lately in rebellion" to their constitutional functions as soon as this could be done with safety to the freedom of the emancipated slaves and the effective introduction of the free-labor system in those States. The maintenance of the freedom of the emancipated blacks and the estab-

lishment of an order of things in which their rights would be safe were universally recognized as a binding duty.

Those in power, mindful of that duty, saw a clear alternative before them: either the "States lately in rebellion" had to be kept under military rule until the Southern whites would have so accustomed themselves to the new order of things that the rights of the freedmen and the development of free labor would no longer require military protection or the freedmen had to be endowed with a certain measure of political power, so that they might be enabled to protect themselves in the enjoyment of their rights.

As to the first horn of the dilemma, the continuation of military rule in the South was difficult and highly objectionable for several reasons. The troops still occupying the Southern States consisted largely of war volunteers, many of whom, since the real war was over, were anxious, and claimed the right, to go home; but the protection of the rights of the freedmen and the introduction of the free labor system required the presence of a great many garrisons to be scattered all over the Southern country, and therefore a large number of soldiers. Moreover, the maintenance of military government in the South for an indefinite time would have been extremely undesirable, even if the necessary number of soldiers could have been ever so easily procured, for the reason that military rule as such is on general principles in the highest degree uncongenial to the spirit of our free institutions; and for the additional reason that the exercise of extraordinary powers by military garrisons in a conquered country is very apt to bring forth grave abuses, and that garrison life of just that kind, under just such circumstances, is eminently calculated to exercise a very demoralizing influence upon soldiers, especially upon volunteer soldiers, after a victorious campaign. It seemed, therefore, highly expedient that the necessity of indefinitely continuing military rule in the South be obviated in some way.

On the other hand, to enable the freedmen to protect themselves by the exercise of a certain measure of political power was a problem hardly less perplexing. This could be done only by putting into their hands the ballot as a defensive weapon. That the great mass of the Negroes would not use the ballot intelligently and with conscientious care was indeed apprehended

by every thoughtful person. That it would have been vastly preferable to introduce colored suffrage gradually, and perhaps dependent upon certain qualifications, if that had been practicable by Federal action, was also admitted by many, if not most, of those who were in favor of making the Negro a voter. But while it was foreseen that the exercise of suffrage by the bulk of the Negroes in the South might bring forth unwelcome results, it was thought that those results might in the long run prove not as deplorable as would be those to be expected from an indefinite continuation of military rule; that the Southern people might see fit to subject the suffrage in their States to suitable qualifications equally applicable to whites and blacks; that the Negro voters might be guided by wise leadership, and, finally, that, whatever might happen, this escape from the perplexing dilemma was after all the most in consonance with our principles of democratic government—a government the blessings of which cannot be had without the risk of its bringing forth concomitant troubles.

I am convinced that this statement fairly represents the line of reasoning prevalent among thinking men in the North who at that time favored Negro suffrage. To judge from certain of their public utterances, it is now believed by many Southern men that Negro suffrage was imposed upon the South from motives of hatred or vindictiveness. Nothing could be farther from the truth. There was, indeed, here and there some fierce language indulged in, the war passions not having completely subsided. It is also true that the reckless policy and the intemperate utterances of President Johnson had made the anti-slavery men in the country and the Republican majority in Congress suspect that their cause had been betrayed by the President, and that the most trenchant measures were necessary to baffle that treachery, and thus one of the most intricate problems of our history became involved in a passionate political fray, well apt to heat men's minds and to make many of them reckless of consequences; but I can confidently affirm—and I had at the time very large opportunities for personal observation—that the serious and influential men favoring Negro suffrage were not controlled by any feeling of hatred or vindictiveness, but by the sober consideration that the legitimate results of the war—among them, in the first line, the abolition

of slavery and the establishment of free labor in the South—were in very serious danger of being rendered practically inoperative, if not entirely annulled, by the reactionary movement in the South, and that the grant of the ballot to the Negroes would be, all things considered, the most democratic as well as the most practicable means to thwart such a reaction.

It has since, in view of the fact that Negro suffrage did not give good government to the South and did not secure the Negro himself in the safe enjoyment of his rights, been asserted and widely accepted that the endowment of the recently liberated slaves with the suffrage was the worst mistake that could have been committed under the circumstances. I am far from denying that Negro suffrage, as first exercised, brought on great scandals in the State and municipal governments in the South, and that it did not succeed in securing the Negro in his rights; but it must not be forgotten that Negro suffrage was resorted to in a situation so complicated that whatever might have been done to solve the most pressing problems would have appeared a colossal mistake in the light of subsequent developments. Would it have been better to leave the "States lately in rebellion" immediately after the war entirely to themselves? No one well acquainted with the drift of things in the South at that period will have the slightest doubt that such a policy, in spite of the acceptance of the thirteenth amendment, would have resulted in the substantial reënslavement of the freedmen, with incalculable troubles to follow. Would it have been better to keep the South under military rule until the free-labor problem in the late slave States should have been satisfactorily solved? It is very questionable whether an indefinite continuation of military rule would not have resulted in abuses and more or less permanent evils, so great that the latter-day critic might quite pertinently ask, "Why did not the statesmen of those times obviate the necessity of continuing military rule by granting to the freedmen the necessary political power to protect themselves?"

It should be remembered that so tremendous a social revolution as the sudden transformation of almost the whole laboring force of a large country from slaves into free men could never have been effected quite smoothly without producing hot conflicts of antagonistic interests and feelings, and without giving

birth to problems seeming for a time almost impossible of solution. The troubles brought upon us by so sweeping a change as the sudden abolition of slavery were, after all, the common fate of humanity under like circumstances. It is only a question of more or less, and we have, perhaps, not more than our inevitable share.

The introduction of Negro suffrage in the South took place under peculiarly unfavorable circumstances. The evils apt to follow the injection of such a mass of ignorance as an active element into the body politic might have been greatly mitigated had the colored voters fallen under conscientious and wise leadership. No greater misfortune could have happened than that this leadership was actually seized in several Southern States by unscrupulous adventurers, most of whom had come from the North to exploit the confusion prevailing in the Southern country for their personal profit, while also some Southern men of similar character and purpose followed their example. I do not, indeed, mean to say that all the Republican leaders in the South belonged to that class, for there were very honorable and patriotic men among them. But in some of the States the demagogues and rascals were the most successful in pressing to the front and in obtaining the control of affairs. Then followed the so-called carpet-bag governments—a mimicry of legislation by Negroes, some of whom were moderately educated, while some were mere plantation hands, led by a set of cunning rogues who were bent upon filling their pockets quickly. It is difficult to exaggerate the extravagances, corrupt practices, and downright robberies perpetrated under those governments.

That the Southern whites, especially those who had any material stake in their communities, should not have been willing long to tolerate such shameful and ruinous misrule is not at all surprising, but that statesmen of good character and high position in the National Government should have been willing systematically to sustain that misrule is a fact which the historian will find it difficult to explain, unless he accepts the theory that selfish party spirit will sometimes seduce public men in approving, or even doing, on the political field things from which they would shrink with disgust in private life. It is true that the opposition to the carpet-bag governments in the South took a lawless character and brought forth a large number of

bloody outrages; but while duly striving to repress those outrages, the Administration and the Republican majority in Congress should not have forgotten that the provocation for the violent opposition to carpet-bag misrule was such as would hardly have been withstood by any spirited people on earth, and that the disorder could not possibly be allayed so long as that rapacious misrule continued by its excesses to provoke it. But party spirit did seem to forget this. Expecting to keep the Southern States under Republican control, and thus to fortify the Republican majorities in Congress and in the Electoral College, the party leaders in power insisted upon supporting the carpet-bag governments, even by military interference, to an extent now hardly credible, and upon continuing the system of political disabilities by which those who had occupied certain positions under the Confederate government were excluded from the suffrage as well as from eligibility to office, while the Negro was endowed with the ballot and made eligible to political positions. It is hardly necessary to say today that the true policy in the public interest would have been to accompany the introduction of Negro suffrage with a general amnesty admitting to political activity and position that element which, no doubt, represented the best intelligence of the South and at that time also the most conciliatory impulses. It is doubtful whether excessive party spirit has ever in our history played a more mischievous part than it did in this instance.

When, in 1877, the Hayes administration came into power, the controlling influence of that party spirit was at an end. The administration called some of the most prominent and highly respected Southern leaders into conference to secure their influence for the protection of the emancipated Negroes in the enjoyment of their rights, while the countenance of the national authority was withdrawn from the carpet-bag governments. The Southern leaders, thus consulted, promised their best endeavors, whereupon the Federal troops were removed from the South, and the carpet-bag governments quickly disappeared one after another. I have no doubt the Southern leaders in question had given their promise in perfect good faith, and have honestly exerted themselves to stem in their respective States the movements hostile to the rights of the freedmen. But their influence was not strong enough to resist the prevailing current. Indeed,

the bloody outrages ceased in a great measure. But the efforts to overcome or nullify the Negro vote by illegitimate means did not cease. The rudest form of force was supplanted by artifice. Tissue ballots, puzzling arrangements of the ballot-boxes, and all possible devices human ingenuity can invent were resorted to for this purpose, and with great success.

Early in 1885, after the election of Mr. Cleveland to the Presidency, I visited the South again. The Negroes had been told, and very many of them had believed it, that the election of a Democratic President would be immediately followed by the restoration of slavery. When month after month had passed after the dreaded event without any startling commotion of that kind, the apprehension subsided, and some intelligent colored men conceived the idea that it would be the best policy for their race in the South to divide the colored vote between the two political parties, and thus to win friends and protectors on both sides. At the same time a fresh breeze of industrial enterprise and development was blowing in the South, encouraging the hope that the growing up of new economic interests would bring forth new political alignments, and thus gradually loosen the so far rigid adherence of the Southern whites to one party organization. This would, of course, have facilitated the division of the Negro vote. By such agencies many troubles in the internal condition of the South might have been allayed and the way to a final solution of the puzzling and dangerous problem prepared, had not the race antipathy overshadowed almost all political thought among the Southern whites. With a majority of them—apparently a large majority—the desire not merely to control or reduce in strength, but entirely to suppress the colored vote, seemed to overrule every other consideration, and to this end they finally resorted to the adoption of provisions in some of their State constitutions by which in various indirect ways the grant of the suffrage to the Negro was to be made substantially inoperative without in terms directly disfranchising the Negro as such altogether. The colored people were thus effectively stripped of the political power by the exercise of which they had been expected to protect their own rights.

That the suppression of the Negro franchise by direct or indirect means is in contravention of the spirit and intent of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States

hardly admits of doubt. The evident intent of the Constitution is that the colored people shall have the right of suffrage on an equal footing with the white people. The intent of the provisions of the State constitutions in question, as avowed by many Southern men, is that the colored people shall not vote. However plausibly it may be demonstrated by ingenious argument that the provisions in the State constitutions are not in conflict with the National Constitution, or that, if they were, their purpose could not be effectively thwarted by judicial decisions, yet it remains true that by many, if not by all, of their authors they were expressly designed to defeat the universally known and recognized intent of a provision of the National Constitution.

Can it be said by way of moral justification that the colored people have deserved to be deprived of their rights as a punishment for something they have done? It is an undisputed matter of history that they came to this country not of their own volition; that they were not intruders, but that they were brought here by force to serve the selfishness of white men; that they did such service as slaves patiently and submissively for two and a half centuries; that even during a war which was waged, incidentally if not directly, for their deliverance, a large majority of them faithfully continued to serve their masters while these were fighting to keep them in slavery; that they were emancipated not by any insurrectionary act of theirs, but by the act of the government; that when, after their emancipation, they confronted their old masters as free men, they did not, so far as known, commit a single act of vengeance for cruelties they may have suffered while in slavery; that the right of suffrage was given to them not in obedience to any irresistible urgency on their part, but by the national power wielded by white men to enable the emancipated colored people to protect their own rights, and that when their exercise of the suffrage brought forth in some States foolish extravagances and corrupt government, it was again principally owing to the leadership of white men, who worked themselves into their confidence and, for their own profit, led them astray.

The only plausible reason given for that curtailment of their rights is that it is not in the interest of the Southern whites to permit the blacks to vote. I will not discuss here the moral aspect of the question whether "A" may deprive "B" of his

rights if "A" thinks it in his own interest to do so, and the further question, whether the general admission of such a principle would not banish justice from the earth and eventually carry human society back into barbarism. I will rather discuss the question whether under existing circumstances it would really be the true interest of the Southern whites generally to disfranchise the colored people.

Here I encounter the objection that this is not a question for me, or any other Northern man, to discuss; that the Southern whites understand their own interests best, and that, more especially, they know best how to deal with the Negro. I cannot accept this without serious qualification. Undoubtedly there are in the South men who understand their own and their neighbors' interests best; but there are others who do not understand those interests at all, and whose opinions in several important historic instances have overruled the opinions of those who did. I remember cases in which a large and controlling majority of the Southern whites made grievous mistakes as to the true interests of the South—cases in which they would have acted most wisely had they accepted the advice of well-meaning outsiders, whom, in the excitement of the moment, they repelled as impudently intrusive critics, and whom they even put down as their enemies. I have seen the time when it was the belief of an apparently overwhelming majority of the Southern whites that the "peculiar institution" of slavery was an economic, moral, social, and political blessing, while in fact slavery as the predominant interest, making everything else subordinate to itself, weighed down, like an incubus, industry, commercial enterprise, popular education—everything that constitutes progressive civilization. I remember the time when an apparently irresistible sentiment drove the Southern whites into a reckless war for the purpose of founding an independent empire on the corner-stone of slavery, while sober judgment would have told them that their resources were unequal to the task, and that, even if they had proved themselves equal, an empire so founded could not possibly have stood against the civilization of the age.

I have heard them, after the war, insist, with an almost unanimous voice, that they knew the Negro better than anybody else did, and that "the Negro would not work without physical com-

pulsion." Subsequent developments have proved that in this respect their judgment was glaringly at fault; and here is that proof: In 1860 the cotton crop, raised by slave labor under the system of "physical compulsion," was 4,861,000 bales. In 1898 the cotton crop was 11,216,000 bales, and in 1899, 11,256,000 bales. A portion of these crops was, no doubt, cultivated by whites. But it will hardly be denied that by far the larger part was raised by Negro labor, while a considerable portion of the colored people did not work on cotton plantations; and the crops in 1898 and 1899 were raised while the Negro, as a rule, did not labor under physical compulsion. It is thus conclusively demonstrated by undisputed fact that the Southern whites who after the close of the war almost unanimously insisted that the "Negro would not work without physical compulsion," were signally wrong as to what means must be used "to make the Negro work." The list of such mistakes of judgment might be largely extended. After such proofs of the fallibility of the Southern mind on vital points as to the interest of the South, and the Negro question in particular, Northern men may be pardoned if they hesitate to accept the doctrine that the Southern whites, as a rule "know all about" that problem, that their treatment of it stands above criticism, and that therefore Northern men should abstain from discussing the question whether it would really be the true interest of the Southern whites under present circumstances to disfranchise the colored people generally. We may therefore fairly discuss the matter, especially as it has a national bearing.

Negro suffrage is plausibly objected to on the ground that the great bulk of the colored population of the South are very ignorant. This is true; but the same is true of a large portion of the white population. If the suffrage is dangerous in the hands of certain voters on account of their ignorance, it is as dangerous in the hands of ignorant whites as in the hands of ignorant blacks. To remedy this, two things might be done—to establish an educational test for admission to the suffrage, excluding illiterates, and, secondly, to provide for systems of public instruction so as gradually to do away with illiteracy, subjecting whites and blacks alike to the same restrictions and opening to them the same opportunities. This would be easily assented to by the Southern whites if the real or the principal objection to

Negro suffrage consisted in the ignorance of the black men. It is also said "that education unfits the Negro for work." This is in so far true as it makes many Negroes unwilling to devote themselves to the ordinary plantation labor, encouraging them to look for work more congenial to their abilities and tastes, and sometimes even seducing them to live upon their wits without work. But the same, then, is true in regard to white men. The increasing disinclination of young white persons to walk behind the plow or to attend to the milking of cows in the solitude of farm life, and the spreading among them of the desire to enjoy a pleasanter existence and to do easier and finer work in the cities, which we observe all around us in the North, with no little anxiety as to what it may at last lead to, is no doubt largely attributable to the natural effects of popular education. But if here at the North the question were asked whether for this reason popular education should be restricted to the end of increasing the fitness and taste for farm work among our people, there would hardly be an audible voice of assent.

That the evil of ignorance as an active element on the political field presents a more serious and complicated problem in the South than in the North cannot be denied, for the mass of ignorance precipitated into the body politic by the enfranchisement of the blacks is so much greater there than here; but most significant and of evil augury is the fact that with many of the Southern whites a well-educated colored voter is as objectionable as an ignorant one, or even more objectionable, simply on account of his color. It is therefore not mere dread of ignorance in the voting body that arouses the Southern whites against the colored voters. It is race antagonism, and that race antagonism presents a problem more complicated and perplexing than most others, because it is apt to be unreasoning. It creates violent impulses which refuse to be argued with. One of the worst effects of the predominance of the slavery interest produced upon the public mind in the old days consisted in the despotic virulence with which in the South it suppressed the freedom of inquiry and discussion with regard to a matter which in the highest degree concerned the welfare of the Southern people. The expression of any opinion hostile to slavery was fiercely resented as an attack upon an institution which must not be touched, a sort of sacrilegious attempt to subvert

the very foundations of Southern society. Had the same freedom of inquiry and discussion prevailed in the South which prevailed in other parts of the country, the Civil War would probably have been prevented. The race antipathy now heating the Southern mind threatens again to curtail the freedom of inquiry and discussion there—perhaps not to the same extent, but sufficiently to produce infinite mischief by preventing an open-minded consideration of one of the most important interests.

To those who, among the passionate cries of the moment, have preserved the pride of independent opinion, the following view of the present situation may commend itself for serious reflection: The colored people, originally brought here by force, are here to stay. The scheme to transport them back to Africa is absolutely idle. If adopted, its execution would be found practically impossible. To transport ten millions of negroes across the sea would require ten thousand voyages of ships carrying one thousand passengers each. The bulk of the colored population will remain in the South, where the climate is more congenial to them and where they can more profitably devote themselves to productive work. It would be a great economic embarrassment to the South if that working force disappeared from its fields. Under the fundamental law of the country they are no longer slaves, but free men. They have the aspirations of free men. According to the intent of the same fundamental law they are also citizens and voters. Whether it would or would not have been wiser to emancipate them gradually and to withhold the right of voting from them, or to introduce them by degrees into the body of voters, is no longer the question. Regrettable as this may be, we have to face actual circumstances. The fact we have to deal with is that by the recognized intent of the National Constitution they are as much entitled to the right of suffrage as white men are. It has been suggested that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the National Constitution, embodying the provisions referred to, be done away with by further amendment; but, leaving aside the question whether as a matter of right this should be done, I doubt whether a single well-informed man can be found in the country who thinks it possible that the required three-fourths of the States will ever consent to such a repeal. To discuss the visionary colonization scheme or

the equally impossible repeal of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments means, therefore, not only to squander time and breath, but to divert the popular mind from the true problem and from the real possibilities of its solution. It must, to start with, be taken as a certainty that the Negroes will stay here, and that the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments will stand, and if they are to be made inoperative at all, it must be by means of a sort of tricky stratagem in flagrant violation of the spirit of the Constitution. Such stratagems are usually not approved by conscientious persons, and they cannot be resorted to by a people without a mischievous lowering of the standard of public morals and an impairment of self-respect.

This is evidently a political and social condition which cannot continue to exist without constant and most unwholesome irritation and restlessness. Such as it is, it cannot possibly be permanent. The colored people will be incessantly disturbed by the feeling that they are unjustly deprived of their legal rights and have become the victims of tyrannical oppression. The most thoughtful and self-respecting among the whites will be ashamed of that state of things, and dissatisfied with themselves for tolerating it. The reckless among the white population, the element most subject to the passions fomented and stirred by a race antipathy, and most responsive to the catch phrases of the demagogue, will understand it as a justification of all the things done to put down the Negro, and as an incitement to further steps along the same line.

And here is the crucial point: *There will be a movement either in the direction of reducing the Negroes to a permanent condition of serfdom—the condition of the mere plantation hand, "alongside of the mule," practically without any rights of citizenship—or a movement in the direction of recognizing him as a citizen in the true sense of the term. One or the other will prevail.*

That there are in the South strenuous advocates of the establishment of some sort of semi-slavery cannot be denied. Governor Vardaman, of Mississippi, is their representative and most logical statesman. His extreme utterances are greeted by many as the bugle-blasts of a great leader. We constantly read articles in Southern newspapers and reports of public speeches made by Southern men which bear a striking resemblance to the pro-slavery arguments I remember to have heard before the

Civil War, and they are brought forth with the same passionate heat and dogmatic assurance to which we were then accustomed —the same assertion of the Negro's predestination for serfdom; the same certainty that he will not work without "physical compulsion;" the same contemptuous rejection of Negro education as a thing that will only unfit him for work; the same prediction that the elevation of the Negro will be the degradation of the whites; the same angry demand that any advocacy of the Negro's rights should be put down in the South as an attack upon the safety of Southern society, and as treason to the Southern cause. I invite those who indulge in that sort of speech to consider what the success of their endeavors would lead to.

In the first place, they should not forget that to keep a race in slavery that had been in that condition for many generations, as was done before the Civil War, is one thing, comparatively easy, but that to reduce that race again to slavery, or something like it, after it has been free for half a century, is quite another thing—nobody knows how difficult and dangerous.

In the second place, they should not forget that the slavery question of old was not merely one of morals and human rights, but that it had a most important bearing upon the character of democratic government as well as upon economic interests and general progress and prosperity. Some of us remember vividly how, in ante-bellum days, the Southern people smarted under the feeling of their commercial and industrial inferiority to the North; how they held conventions and conferences to consult about the means by which they might be relieved of their "abject and disgraceful dependence," about factories to be built on Southern soil, about commercial connections to be established with the outside world, about steamships to run between Southern ports and those of foreign countries, and so on, and how, in spite of all those schemes and spasmodic efforts, the inferiority of the South remained substantially the same. The main reason of the failure was that the Southern people would not touch the principal cause of their inferiority. Above all else they idolized and cared for their "peculiar institution" of slavery. They were nervously anxious to avoid doing or even saying anything that might directly or indirectly endanger that "peculiar institution," and it was this nervous anxiety which made

them suspicious of every new idea or aspiration that might in some direct or indirect way have shaken the social and political order based upon slavery—especially suspicious of anything apt, directly or indirectly, to make the laboring force of the country more intelligent and thereby more ambitious. Nothing can have a more benumbing effect upon the active energies of a people than such a tendency. I am far from saying that the South would have rivaled the North in productive activity and progress had slavery not existed. Climatic conditions would have prevented that, but surely the difference between the two sections of the country would have been far less.

We have heard much from Southern men since the close of the Civil War of the substantial benefits the abolition of slavery has conferred upon the South—of the impetus it has given to the spirit of enterprise in the opening and the exploitation of natural resources, the building up of industries, the enlargement of means of communication, and the development of other agencies of civilization. All this is recognized to be owing to the removal—the partial removal at least—of the incubus of that "peculiar institution" which stupefied everything. And now the reactionists are striving again to burden the Southern people with another "peculiar institution" closely akin to its predecessor in character, as it will be in its inevitable effects if fully adopted by the Southern people—that is, if the bulk of the laboring class is again to be kept in stupid subjection, without the hope of advancement and without the ambition of progress. For, as the old pro-slavery man was on principle hostile to general Negro education, so the present advocate of semi-slavery is perfectly logical in his contempt for the general instruction of the colored people and in his desire to do away with the Negro school. What the reactionist really wants is a Negro just fit for the task of a plantation hand and for little, if anything, more, and with no ambition for anything beyond. Therefore, quite logically, the reactionist abhors the educated Negro. In fact the political or social recognition of the educated Negro is especially objectionable to him for the simple reason that it would be an encouragement of higher aspirations among the colored people generally. The reactionist wishes to keep the colored people—that is, the great mass of the laboring force in the South—as ignorant as possible, to the end of keeping it as submissive

and obedient as possible. As formerly the people of the South were the slaves of slavery, so they are now to be made the victim sof their failure to abolish slavery altogether.

And now imagine the moral, intellectual, and economic condition of a community whose principal and most anxious—I might say hysteric—care is the solution of the paramount problem "how to keep the nigger down"—that is, to reduce a large part of its laboring population to stolid brutishness—and that community in competition with other communities all around which are energetically intent upon lifting up their laboring forces to the highest attainable degree of intelligence, ambition, and efficiency.

This is not all. The reactionist fiercely insists that the South "must be let alone" in dealing with the Negro. This was the cry of the pro-slavery men of the old ante-bellum time. But the American people outside of the South took a lively interest in the matter, and finally the South was not left alone. If the reactionists should now succeed in reëstablishing something like slavery in the shape of peonage or any other shape, they can hardly hope to be "let alone." Although there is at present little inclination among the people of the North to meddle politically with Southern difficulties, they will hardly witness such a relapse into the vicious old system with indifference. They will hardly accept that doctrine of non-intervention which insists, as Abraham Lincoln expressed it, "that when A makes B his slave, C shall not interfere." I think I risk little in predicting that the reactionists are in this respect preparing new trouble for the South, and that only their failure can prevent that trouble.

Thus it may be said without exaggeration that by striving to keep up in the Southern States a condition of things which cannot fail to bring forth constant irritation and unrest, which threatens to burden the South with another "peculiar institution" by making the bulk of its laboring force again a clog to progressive development, and to put the South once more in a position provokingly offensive to the moral sense and the enlightened spirit of the world outside, the reactionists are the worst enemies the Southern people have to fear.

As to the outlook, there are signs pointing in different ways. The applause called forth by such virulent pronouncements as

those by Governor Vardaman, and the growls with which some Southern newspapers and agitators receive the united efforts of high-minded Southern and Northern men to advance education in the Southern States among both races, as well as the political appeals made to a reckless race prejudice, are evidence that the reactionary spirit is a strong power with many Southern people. How far that spirit may go in its practical ventures was shown in the Alabama peonage cases, which disclosed a degree of unscrupulous greed and an atrocious disregard of the most elementary principles of justice and humanity; and what has been proven creates the apprehension that there is still more of the same kind behind.

On the other hand, the fact that the united efforts for education in the South, which I mentioned, are heartily and effectively supported not only by a large number of Southern men of high standing in society, but by some in important political office in the Southern States, and by a large portion of the Southern press; and the further fact that the crimes committed in the peonage cases were disclosed by Southern officers of the law, that the indictments were found by Southern grand juries, that verdicts of guilty were pronounced by Southern petit juries, that sentence was passed by a Southern judge in language the dignity and moral feeling of which could hardly have been more elevated, and that the exposure of those crimes evoked among the people of the South many demonstrations of righteous wrath at such villainies—all these things and others of the same kind are symptoms of moral forces at work which, if well organized and directed, will be strong enough effectually to curb the reactionary spirit, and gradually to establish in the South, with regard to the Negro problem, an order of things founded on right and justice, delivering Southern society of the constant irritations and alarms springing from wrongful and untenable conditions, giving it a much needed rest in the assurances of righteousness, and animating it with a new spirit of progress.

No doubt the most essential work will have to be done in and by the South itself. And it can be. There are in the South a great many enlightened and high-minded men and women eminently fit for it. Let them get together and organize for the task of preparing the public mind in the South by a systematic campaign of education, for a solution of the problem in harmony

with our free institutions. It may be a long and arduous campaign for them, but certainly a patriotic, meritorious, and hopeful one. They will have to fight traditional notions and prejudices of extraordinary stubbornness, but they will also have generous impulses and sound common sense to appeal to. They will not indulge in the delusion that they can ignore or altogether obliterate the existing race-antipathy, but they can effectively combat every effort to cultivate and inflame it. They will be able to show that it is the interest of the South, as it is that of the North, not to degrade the laboring force, but to elevate it by making it more intelligent and capable, and that if we mean thus to elevate it and to make it more efficient, we must not kill its ambitions, but stimulate those ambitions by opening to them all possible opportunities. Their example will demonstrate that no man debases himself by lifting up his neighbor from ever so low a level.

They will also be able to show that, even supposing the average Negro not to be able to reach the level of the average white man, the Negro may reach a much higher level than he now occupies, and that, for his own good as well as the good of society, he should be brought up to as high a level as he can reach; and, further, that the Negro race has not only since emancipation accumulated an astonishing amount of property—nearly $800,000,000 worth in farms, houses, and various business establishments—but has also produced not a few eminent men, eminent in literature, in medicine, in law, in mathematics, in theology, in educational work, in art, in mechanics—exceptional colored men, to be sure, but eminent men are exceptional in any race—who have achieved their successes under conditions so difficult and disheartening as to encourage the belief that they might have accomplished much more, and that many more such men would have come forth had their environment been more just and the opportunities more favorable.

They would be able to banish the preposterous bugbear of "social equality" which frightens so many otherwise sensible persons, in spite of the evident truth of Abraham Lincoln's famous saying that if he respected and advocated the just rights of the black man it did not follow that he must therefore take a black woman for his wife.

They might at the same time puncture those curious exagger-

ations of that dread of "social equality" which exhibit themselves in such childish follies as the attempt to make a heroine out of a silly hotel chambermaid who thought she did a proud thing in refusing to make Booker T. Washington's bed.

They may expose to the proper pathological light the hysterics which seemed to unsettle the minds of a great many people when the President greeted at his table the same distinguished citizen, who had already been received by Queen Victoria at tea at Windsor Castle, and who is known and admired throughout the civilized world as a man of extraordinary merit, but whose presence at the President's board was frantically denounced as an insult to every white citizen of this Republic, and as a dangerous blow at American civilization.

They may with great effect describe how civilized mankind would have laughed at the American gentleman who might have refused to sit at the table with Alexander Dumas, the elder, one of the greatest novelists of all ages and a most charming conversationalist and companion, for the reason that Dumas' grandmother had been a negress and Dumas himself must therefore be sternly excluded from polite society as a "nigger."

To the lofty people who, for fear of compromising their own dignity, scorn to address a colored man as Mr. or a colored woman as Mrs. or Miss, they would give something to think by reminding them of the stateliest gentleman ever produced by America, a man universally reverenced, a Virginian, who when a negress, and a slave, too, had dedicated to him some complimentary verses, wrote her an elaborate and gravely polite letter of thanks, addressing her as "Miss Phyllis" and subscribing himself "with great respect, your obedient, humble servant, George Washington."

They will appeal to Southern chivalry, a sentiment which does not consist merely in the impulse to rush with knightly ardor to the rescue of well-born ladies in distress, but rather in a constant readiness to embrace the cause of right and justice in behalf of the lowliest as well as the highest, in defense of the weak against the strong, and this all the more willingly as the lowliest stand most in need of knightly help; and as in the service of justice the spirit of chivalry will shine all the more brightly, the harder the task and the more unselfish the effort.

In this way such a body of high-minded and enlightened Southerners may gradually succeed in convincing even many

of the most prejudiced of their people that white ignorance and lawlessness are just as bad and dangerous as black ignorance and lawlessness; that black patriotism, integrity, ability, industry, usefulness, good citizenship, and public spirit are just as good and as much entitled to respect and reward as capabilities and virtues of the same name among whites; that the rights of the white man under the Constitution are no more sacred than those of the black man; that neither white nor black can override the rights of the other without eventually endangering his own, and that the Negro question can finally be settled so as to stay settled only on the basis of the fundamental law of the land as it stands, by fair observance of that law, and not by any tricky circumvention of it. Such a campaign for truth and justice, carried on by the high-minded and enlightened Southerners without any party spirit—rather favoring the view that whites as well as blacks should divide their votes according to their inclinations between different political parties—will promise the desired result in the same manner as it is carried on with gentle, patient, and persuasive dignity, but also with that unflinching courage which is, above all things, needed to assert that most important freedom—the freedom of inquiry and discussion against traditional and deep-rooted prejudice—a courage which can be daunted neither by the hootings of the mob nor by the supercilious jeers of fashionable society, but goes steadily on doing its work with indomitable tenacity of purpose.

These suggestions are submitted for candid consideration as pointing out one of the ways in which the South may solve the most difficult of her problems entirely by her own efforts, and thus reach the only solution that will stand in accord with the fundamental principles of democratic government.

Will it be said that what I offer is more a diagnosis than a definite remedy? It may appear so. But this is one of the problems which defy complete solution and can only be rendered less troublesome. It can certainly not be quickly and conclusively solved by drastic legislative treatment, which might rather prove apt to irritate than to cure. What is done by legislation can usually be undone by legislation, and is therefore liable to become subject to the chances of party warfare. The slow process of propitiating public sentiment, while trying our patience, promises after all the most durable results.—*Copyrighted, McClure's Magazine.*

NEGROES IN THE SOUTH NOW HAVE BETTER HOMES.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

I recall that during the first years of the history of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute I spent a good deal of time traveling through the black belt of the South among the members of my race. One of the things that impressed me most vividly was the wretchedness of the houses in which the people lived. It was seldom that I could find a decent house in which to eat a meal or spend the night. On one occasion I recall when passing through a cotton-raising district a friend and I stopped at a cabin for dinner. When we sat down to the table there were five of us; on the table there was but one fork for five of us to use. Of course, there was a little embarrassing hesitation. In the opposite corner of the cabin I noted there was a cheap organ, for which the family had paid $60 on the installment plan. More than once I had to go on the outside of the house at night and wait till the family had gone to bed before I could retire. I had to do this because there was but one room in the house. In the morning I had to make my toilet in the yard, as there was no provision for any wash bowl or basin in the house.

The object of this article is not to describe the bad conditions that existed at that time, but to call attention to the improvement in the home life our people have made within the last twenty years or more.

I do not believe that it is possible for any one to judge very thoroughly of the life of any individual or race unless he gets into the homes. How I recall that in my own case I have completely misjudged the real worth of individuals because I was led to pass my opinion upon them because their dress was coarse or their language broken or their faces uninviting. It has only been when I have seen the evidence of culture, convenience, thoughtfulness, and gentleness displayed inside the homes of such people that I have been made to see the mistake of judging people outside of their homes.

So, with regard to the Negro, if one wants to get an idea of the progress that the race has made within a few years he should not pass judgment until he has had an opportunity to get into the homes of the race. To see the better side of the home life of the Negro is not an easy thing for a stranger or for a member of another race to do. During the last three years I have spent considerable time in traveling through the South. During this time I have seen my people in the fields, in the shops, in schools, in colleges, in churches, in prisons, and in their homes, but in no place have I noted such evidence of progress as in their homes. Behind the development of nearly every home there was a history, in many cases both romantic and pathetic—a history of struggle or self-sacrifice, of failure, and then final success.

Let me tell in brief the story of one of these homes I found in Mississippi. I found myself one night, not long ago, a guest in a home in Mississippi of a member of my race. There were in it seven rooms. The parlor, the kitchen, the dining-room, and bath and bed rooms were as clean, sweet, comfortable, conveniently arranged, and attractive as one would expect to find in Massachusetts. On the table of the dining-room were to be found the daily paper, a weekly paper, and several magazines. Many of the books on the shelves of the library were standard books. The pictures on the walls were not of the cheap, flashy character, but had been selected with taste and care. I saw little about this house except the color of the occupants to remind me that I was in the home of a Negro. There was from kitchen to parlor a delicacy, sweetness, and refinement that made one feel that life was worth the living. Another thing that pleased me as much as what I saw was the pride with which each member of the family referred to his own race and the faith all exhibited in the success of the race. I neither heard nor saw anything that led me to believe that any member of the family was ashamed of his people or wanted to discard the race to which Providence had assigned him for another race. Many people, I think, have the feeling that the average Negro is continually seeking to get away from his own people, forgetting that every sensible Negro has as much pride in his own as is true of other races. As the Negro becomes educated, the more he finds comfort and satisfaction in the company of educated members of his own people.

But I promised to tell the story of this family. Both father and mother had been slaves, and they were not ashamed of that. In some way both of them learned to read and write a little during slavery. The father was one of the most faithful and trusted of his master's slaves. When Abraham Lincoln's proclamation was issued the father and mother became free and found themselves, of course, compelled to begin life with nothing, so far as the material part of life was concerned. They decided to make their new home near that of their former master, and always retained his good will and received from him much good advice that proved to be useful in times of adversity.

The chief desire of the hearts of these two ex-slaves had been from the time they were married to some day own at least a little shanty that they could call their own. In order to secure the first few acres of land, the sacrifices which this family told me about, in their own way, were most interesting. The mother told me that after plowing or hoeing cotton in the field day after day by the side of her husband, she would make her meal of bread and water; that she often went barefooted for a good part of the winter months. The father told me that after he had secured a few acres of land he would work in the cotton field all day, and then, by moonlight or lamplight, he built with his own tired hands the first little one-room cabin; how, a few years later, he had saved a little by getting out shingles at night for sale, he was able to put glass windows in the cabin, and how, still later, he had added a second room to the cabin, and then a third and fourth until the house had grown into this now comfortable house of seven rooms. He told how, during much of the time that he and his wife were making this struggle to secure a home, they had to mortgage their crop for the food upon which to live and pay a rate of interest for their loans that averaged 15 per cent. Not the least interesting part of the story that I heard from the lips of these two now happy ex-slaves was the manner in which they had contrived to educate their children, a boy and a girl, and it was through the efforts of these two children that many of the conveniences and refining influences had been added to the house.

Inquiry on the outside of this house among white and colored people brought out the fact that this man was a regular tax-

payer, had a comfortable little bank account, and that he had the respect and confidence of both races.

The most encouraging thing in connection with the home-getting effort of the Negro now going on is that one can find in almost every town and city in the country where there is any considerable number of my race at least one home that approaches this, and often several in the same town.

Another feature that is as encouraging as the material evidence in progress is the disposition that is growing among my people to "classify" themselves, as an old colored man put it to me recently. The time is now passed when all colored people herd themselves together without regard to moral distinctions. There are colored circles where it would be just as impossible for a person of known questionable character to enter as would be true of white society. Perhaps there are few indications that so clearly mark the progress that the race is making as the fact that the line is all the time being more closely and tightly drawn between the good and the bad.

Some years ago, in one of our Negro conferences at Tuskegee, I asked an old colored man how the morals were in his community. He replied: "Morals? Why, we hasn't got any of them things down our way." This now can be said of few communities, and it is very largely owing to the improvement that is going on in the life of the people. In some sections of the black belt one cannot ride many miles through the country without seeing the new and second room being added to the old one-roomed cabin.

There are other evidences of the activity of the race in home-getting. In Alabama, for example, there are at the present time three incorporated towns or cities where practically all the inhabitants are Negroes, and where all the town officials are of the same race. Their names are Hobson City, Douglass City, and Booker City. In the case of one of these towns within a few weeks 100 lots were sold to members of the race, and out of this number I was informed on good authority that there was only one purchaser who could not read and understand the papers bearing upon the purchase of the property.

I could prolong this article to most any length with evidence showing that the Negro is making slow but sure growth in home-getting and in home life, and all this is a result of the

education that the Negro has received through his own efforts, through the State and philanthropic channels. With a hundred times more money than is now being put into the South the whole problem of the Negro would be much simplified within a few years.—*The Evening Star.*

THE NATIVE AFRICAN—HIS LINE AND HIS WORK.

A SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE BANQUET TO HON. C. E. WRIGHT, NOVEMBER 19, 1903, BY EDWARD W. BLYDEN, LL. D.

In beginning what I have to say to you on this occasion, I have three or four remarks to make.

1. The first is that I consider it highly creditable to the natives of Sierra Leone that they have thought it becoming to give public expression to their feelings of gratification at the qualities of one of their countrymen which have so won for him the esteem and confidence of the authorities that he has in this very early period of his career been placed in one of the highest positions accessible to a native. This demonstration of appreciation is as it should be.

The governor told us the other night that his experience had taught him that the sentiment of loyalty is natural to the African. I was glad to hear him say so, for it is true; and nowhere are illustrations of this seen more than among the unsophisticated natives of the interior, where a great man is recognized as a great man and treated as a great man, whether learned in books, as among the Mohammedans, or skilled in war or statecraft, as among the pagans.

2. The second remark I have to make is that we have a pledge of the friendship and sympathy of the European community in the position occupied on this occasion by our friend, Mr. Bingham. He not only represents the greatest business firm at present engaged in the development of West Africa, but, owing to his happy temper and steady demeanor, he is everywhere acceptable to the people; and I venture to say that there is not a man in this house and hardly a man in the street who is likely to dissent from the high and cordial appreciation of his standing

and work among us to which the committee has given expression in their choice of him to preside on this occasion.

3. I find it difficult to decide whether to congratulate the guest of the evening or to sympathize with him. At all events, I consider him one of the most fortunate of men, both as regards the abundant recognition of his merits by his fellow-citizens, of which this banquet is a pleasant expression, and as regards the early period of his labors at which this expression is given. There have been cases in human history when honors have been lavished upon the strength and achievements of youth, but those cases are so few that they stand out as prominent exceptions to the almost universal rule. We easily recall Alexander the Great, who had conquered the world before he was thirty, and William Pitt, who became Prime Minister of England at twenty-five; but, as I have said, these are brilliant exceptions in the history of the human intellect.

It is not usual at the beginning of a career to heap honors upon a man who is entering the race-course or the field of conflict. It is not usual to boast while putting on the harness, because there are serious disadvantages connected with all premature exultation. "The gods," it is said, "love not the exulting." It is when the man has reached the top of the mountain by "slow degrees," by "more and more," by "toiling upward in the night," that he is able to look down at the peaks he has scaled without dizziness and with sure and steady foothold.

> "The heights by great men reached and *kept*
> Were not attained by sudden flight;
> But they, while their companions slept,
> Were toiling upward in the night."

There is danger otherwise of conceiving a false consciousness, of acquiring a top-heaviness, sure preludes of a disastrous downfall. To load a man with laurels at the foot of the mount he is about to climb is to produce an awkwardness, an embarrassing self-consciousness, a looking behind for the continued applause of the multitude, and this awkward looking backward may cause tripping and may beget lapses and relapses and often collapses.

But, on the other hand, there are natures to whom such recognition in the start serves as stimulus and encouragement. I have seen in my experience that applause may have one of two

effects on its object: It may act either as a stimulant or it may act as a drug; it may either stimulate activity or deaden exertion. All depends upon the character or nature of the object. The sun shining upon ice will melt it; shining upon clay will harden it. The same flower which for the bee gives honey, for the snake gives poison.

I believe that the public of Sierra Leone have discerned in the guest of the evening those characteristics which likewise will help and not embarrass, which eulogy will stimulate and not hinder; therefore they offer him this evening the fragrance of their congratulations on the success he has already achieved—a pledge of their entire confidence in his ability for greater and loftier achievements in the days to come.

Another remark I have to make is this, that banquets in England are usually occasions when opportunity is taken for the discussion of great questions affecting the interests of the United Kingdom and the British Empire. So, following that high example, I thought I should avail myself of the opportunity tonight of calling your attention to certain matters in which, as a community of Africans, as members of a great race, distinct and separate from all others, we are deeply interested, and upon which our foreign rulers and helpers are anxious that we should express ourselves. Happily, we have no grievances to ventilate. What I desire to do is to direct attention to the prevalent conditions among us, and to the systems which have brought them about, preventing the construction in this portion of West Africa of a vigorous, self-reliant, and productive African community.

And this thought has been suggested by the fact that the guest of the evening, as member of the legislative council and mayor of the city, is in a position or in positions to render most valuable help to his country and people in those directions in which modifications may be possible in the systems which have hitherto controlled the situation.

There are questions, Mr. President and gentlemen, in which we are deeply and vitally interested, which are every day increasing in gravity and presenting to us problems which we must either confront and solve or perish from the face of the earth, as others, under the same systems, have perished before us and are now perishing. The North American Indians, the

Sandwich Islanders, the natives of Fiji, the New Zealanders, have all vanished or are vanishing before the incursion of Anglo-Saxons, who confess themselves helpless to account for or to arrest this deterioration, or attribute it to the operation of a principle which, in the case of human beings, is not only heartless but false and immoral—"the survival of the fittest." Just refer to one case. In the decade ending 1891 it was estimated that there was a decrease of Fijians of about fourteen thousand (14,000). A royal commission was appointed some time ago to investigate the causes of this decrease. The conclusions of the commission were, that while the complete christianization of the natives had greatly elevated them, both in European civilization and morals, they were Christians with all "the casual instincts of the savage." The commission were doubtful whether the abolition of polygamy had not affected the increase of the race. So in the West Indies we have seen lately serious accounts of the demoralization of the people. The weekly edition of the *Times*, October 30, contains the following significant account:

"ILLEGITIMACY IN THE WEST INDIES.—Our West Indian correspondent writes from Kingston, Jamaica: The high rate of illegitimacy which prevails in the West Indies has often been the subject of discussion in the various legislative assemblies and the press. Probably no other social question has excited so widespread an interest or called forth such diversity of opinion. During the past twenty years continuous efforts have been made in Jamaica by a small but increasing band of reformers to secure the compulsory registration of the fathers of illegitimate children, but so far without success, the government always maintaining that such a system would be contrary to all established precedent. Last year the rate in that colony passed all previous records, the number of illegitimate births being 64 per cent. While this state of things does not necessarily imply extensive immorality, it naturally indicates a condition at variance with English ideas, and at the instance of the reforming party in the legislative council the government, which recognizing that the true source of improvement must be a higher moral tone among the people and a healthier public opinion, has appointed a commission to ascertain whether it is possible to devise any legislative remedy. The commission is of a widely representa-

tive character, and will consider and report whether the existing laws relating to marriage and registration of births should be amended with the object (1) of simplifying the formalities necessary to be observed for marriages, (2) of giving to children of parents who may marry at the birth of such children the position and rights of offspring lawfully begotten, (3) of increasing the facilities for the registration of the paternity of children not lawfully begotten, or (4) of making such registration compulsory. Owing to the absence of data on the subject, two circulars have been prepared and issued, containing a long series of questions relating to every phase of the problem. One of these has been addressed to foreign governments and the other to local individuals, and the result is awaited with a good deal of interest and curiosity."

Men stand amazed at this disreputable condition of affairs, because they do not from a scientific point of view investigate the causes of things. But it is evident that the remedies suggested in this particular case will not effect a cure. The evil lies in the interference with the radical institutions which tropical conditions require. Some years ago the question of the decay of the population of New Zealand was exciting considerable attention in England. In a remarkable speech made in Exeter Hall about that time (May, 1888), by Dr. Craig Stuart, Bishop of Waiapu, New Zealand, that eminent prelate said: "It has been said by a distinguished colonial statesmen that if the Maories are to be a decaying race—as it is to be feared they are—let us," he said, "advocate a generous policy to them with regard to their lands; for we can at least smooth their dying pillow."

This recommendation of a final act of sympathy shows a lack of what has been called "imaginative insight;" and it is this lack of ethnical or anthropological appreciation which the African Society is endeavoring to supply. And its leaders are surprised that so little information comes to them on this subject from the natives of West Africa. Here I must express the pleasure it has given me to see recently the accession to the roll of the society of so many Sierra Leoneans and other natives of West Africa.

So far as we are concerned here and in other settlements on the coast, it is evident that there has been inappropriate and unscientific legislation. It is something of a contradiction of

terms to use the word "legislation" with "unscientific;" for the word "legislation," adopted by the Romans, the founders of European law, means *bringing in the law.* The legislator was supposed to have carefully studied the conditions, comparing or contrasting one thing with another, and when he had found out what was necessary to hold these things together, he arrived at the law governing them—the constitution necessary to make them stand together—and brought in his conclusions, which were formulated into an act and adopted by those authorized to do so. That was *legislation*—putting into statute form the result of study and investigation. So Newton legislated in astronomy, and brought in the "law of gravitation," which, however, is not yet universally accepted. So-called law, made otherwise or by the arbitrary will of superior power, is not legislation, but legisfaction—*making* law. This is what, as a rule, we have had in the British colonies in West Africa.

The English people are at present divided on the question whether Mr. Chamberlain, as he alleges, finds the law for preferential tariff in the present condition and relations of the empire, or whether his contention is a creation of his own wonderful resourcefulness. But the proceedings of that eminent statesman, his courage, and his steadfastness to his convictions, and the large following he has secured among all the English-speaking populations of the globe show that political shibboleths in England are losing their supposed unassailable prestige or prescriptive right. Mr. Chamberlain has attacked with an energy and a vigor almost unprecedented in political warfare what he calls the fetish of free trade. If he do not succeed in hurling it from its pedestal he will at least cause it to totter on its base. I heard Mr. Chamberlain deliver his great speech at the Corona Club dinner last June. I was struck with his natural, unconstrained, unhampered manner. I wrote to a friend describing my impressions of the speech, which I said he delivered holding a lighted cigar in his hand, which, with serene composure, he puffed during the cheers which followed his incisive sentences. "Yes," replied my friend, "I have seen him myself under such circumstances, and it will take a very strong man to put his pipe out."

This is for us a good sign. It means that Englishmen are feeling that the absolute superiority of English ideas is not an

axiom of the law of nature. It is not like the law of the Medes and Persians; but that those ideas may be superseded by others more suitable to any given time or given circumstances. I say this Chamberlain revolution is a good sign for us and for other weak races helplessly subjected to the procrustean methods of a stronger power. Sierra Leone, owing to the inapplicability of many English ideas which have shaped its history, is today in the most unsatisfactory condition. It is not a normal African community under European rule, such, for example, as the settlements in French Guinea are. In founding her colonies to the north of us France had a great advantage. She was not burdened with a philanthropic idea, which it was sought to carry out and develop in Africa. She was free to take the natives as she found them—not interfering with their social or religious customs, only preventing extravagant or inhuman manifestations—and today we find in French Guinea a normal, healthy, vigorous, independent native population, increasing in numbers, not as black Frenchmen, but as black men under French rule, independent in their religious, social, and industrial organizations, in all racial and vital respects enjoying the advantages of a wholesome and effective segregation—able from their inherent strength and widespread influence in their own country and among their own people to become elements of helpfulness and guides to their foreign exploiters, having their roots in the heart of the country which it is sought to exploit.

Sierra Leone, on the other hand, began its career under widely different circumstances. It began as an exotic plant. Africans from across the sea, Nova Scotians and Maroons, denationalized, de-Africanized by exile, were brought and settled here with all the un-African notions they had imbibed among their foreign masters; and good men like Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, Wilberforce, thought they could establish in Africa, by means of these repatriates, communities on the models of British colonies established elsewhere. They did not recognize that these returning Africans, unlike free Englishmen going to a distant land to settle, were not free men in the land of their birth, and that when they crossed the sea they brought their chains with them in the shape of uncongenial and incompatible religious and social institutions. They came

Cum sociis natoque, Penatibus, magnis dis—

chains which when they again breathed the air of the fatherland some found uncomfortable; but they could not rid themselves of them, so they *dragged* them and died fettered, transmitting to their children the shackles; others *hugged* their chains with complacency, indeed not knowing they *were* chains, thinking them ornaments. They also perished, leaving to their successors the burdensome decoration. These men built churches and established schools, and formed religious and political organizations, such as they had left in America. They continued to exist in this way with various and often discreditable episodes for more than twenty years, when the colony was taken over by the British government, but still as a philanthropic and eleemosynary institution. The governors were obliged to govern through the governed, and the governed stood aloof from the natives and from everything African; thought themselves different from and superior to their surroundings; formed no connection with the indigenous inhabitants, but rather placed themselves in a hostile attitude; so they constituted themselves a social and political island, affecting habits and customs entirely out of keeping with their surroundings, and the government had to foster this unnatural state of things because the people liked it. With the help of an inexperienced government these quasi-foreigners forced the helpless recaptives, when they arrived among them, to adopt their manners, their religion, and their social arrangements. Sharing the fate of all things unnatural, these Nova Scotians and Maroons passed away, leaving the recaptives to follow their example; and, as the recaptives followed their example, they are being overtaken by the fate of their teachers. They also now stand aghast at their rapid deterioration, but are unwilling or unable to recognize the fact that they, blind themselves, have been following blind leaders, with the usual deplorable result. This is the history of Sierra Leone in a nutshell. It has had only two stages—infancy and decrepitude; never vigorous manhood. This has been the fate of all tropical or semi-tropical races touched by Anglo-Saxon civilization. On this subject the secretary of the S. P. G., Right Rev. Henry Hutchinson Montgomery, formerly Bishop of Tasmania, made some very timely and helpful remarks at a meeting of the Church Congress held at Bristol last month on the subject of "Racial characteristics as affecting missionary work."

The Bishop spoke as follows:

"Those who leave these shores are soon conscious either of the subtle or the plain differences which exist between the habits and opinions of races of mankind. Would that we could go one step further and always kindle in our sons and daughters a keen and sympathetic interest in the question. Too often the differences create at once a subtle barrier which checks a great many from making any nearer approach to the heart of another race. Outside that dividing wall of sentiment they are left with feelings of contempt, indifference, repulsion, or amusement, as it may happen to be, to their own abiding loss, and imperiling possibly in their degree the stability of the empire, or checking by their attitude the growth of that still greater kingdom, the church.

"Their own loss it is, indeed. Beyond that impalpable barrier raised by color or some race difference there await them some of the most deeply interesting and fruitful of problems, if they can substitute for the feelings I have enumerated above those of kindliness, courtesy, delicate appreciation, and reverence. They would then learn a lesson of the richness of humanity, and gain also a humble sense of the existence of extraordinary limitations in their own race character. These are two weighty lessons to make us wise; twice as fit to rule and much more capable of winning the reverence of nations. Let it be remembered, indeed, that empires may yet be lost or won by bad or good manners. As education spreads, it is not mere brute force that can enduringly weld together a great empire or create a united church. We must covet the cement of enlightened insight and sympathetic respect. In the case of the missionary the will at least is present. But for all probably it needs an effort to draw closer to each other sympathetically, especially when races exist that differ markedly in their characteristic qualities. The special virtues of the stronger race we may not note, but its faults will irritate. Neither the virtue nor the fault will most likely be predominantly those of our own race; and here it may be as well to ask what it is that creates race differences. It is a difficult question. After many reasons have been given there is something more behind that baffles—climate, religion, the whole past history and environment, including the fact whether the race has ruled or has been ruled

over, and a hundred other causes. All this tells *plus* something unfathomable."

Yes, after all has been said, there is "something unfathomable," and it is this unfathomable something that it becomes both missionary societies and governments to study in their attempts to deal with alien races, "especially when races exist that differ markedly in their characteristic qualities."

Omitting any special reference to our religious life, which needs no commentary, I want to point out that our social organization stands upon a basis false for the African, and hence the dislocations and disappointments we witness. Our society, or rather the society we are attempting to found, which we have been striving in vain to construct for the last sixty years, is conceived on the European basis, which is individualistic—that is to say, it is a system in which the individual accumulates wealth, scrambles for gain for himself with no responsibility to his surroundings. This has, in Europe and America, permitted vast pecuniary resources to be gathered by individuals—a process which has gone on for generations and has now reached such a pitch that a reactionary sentiment is taking place. Men are questioning the right of individuals to accumulate so much money with no sense of responsibility even to their own kith and kin. People are frightened. The masters are afraid of their workmen, manufacturers are afraid of strikes, churchmen are afraid of non-conformists, and non-conformists are afraid of agnostics and positivists. Socialism is spreading, taking sometimes the deadly form of anarchism. Well, now, the African idea of society and social obligations is communistic. It is what we see in the interior—the idea of Abraham and the patriarchs, who gathered around them their family and retainers and shared their wealth with them. Such wealth, consisting in farms and flocks, was not only shared by all contemporary relatives and connections, but was transmitted. It is what we see among the natives of Senegal and other parts of the Soudan—the same property in the hands of several generations.

Now we, trying to follow the individualism of Europe, accumulate money in one generation which disappears in the next. It is divorced from the soil and gathered in banks, like the European method. The experience of two generations has shown us that this method is not for us. We have had numerous men

of money, but their children or grandchildren are around us today in poverty. This kind of wealth always passes back into the hands of its creators. When we take a sovereign into our hand and look at it and ask, "Whose image and superscription is this?" the answer is, "Edward the VII." This is *his* form of property, and it will go back to him and his people. In our possession it may represent the result of our intelligence, industry, and thrift, but, unfortunately, it represents those qualities in a transitory form for us. It is the outcome of the individualistic method and is not a permanent possession for the African in Africa. We have been allowed to see some of our people wealthy in the European sense. But except for personal use and a few private benefactions we have seen no widespread public advantage from it. Some have given thousands of pounds to philanthropic causes in Europe, but we hear very little from those gifts. We heard an African, wealthy in the European sense, say, some time ago, that he hoped to see many African millionaires. But I am satisfied that there will not only be no African millionaires in the European sense, but that the next generation will witness no examples of even the kind of rich men we now have. The conditions of trade are forcing such wealth into the hands of Europeans. Our magnificent houses will pass into their hands or our children will hold them subject to the white man, and thus because we have no foothold in the soil. We are branches severed from the parent stock, and no devices of foreigners will make us live while thus dissociated. In the stream of life there is but one channel open to individuals or races which leads for them to permanent success. If they find that channel, they glide easily and safely to the broad waters of success; all others for them abound in shallows and in miseries.

The French recognize this in their African policy. They recognize that the Africans are not a manufacturing or commercial people, except in a local or domestic way; they see that our great work is agricultural in its various branches. So they encourage their African subjects to stick to the soil. This policy was very clearly defined by M. Roume, the French viceroy of West Africa, at a banquet given to him the other day in Paris. He said: "You must rely, before all things, on the native agriculturist, on the black laborer cultivating his *own* fields in *entire independence* and *absolute liberty*."

Sierra Leone, as I have said, has never enjoyed the strength of youth and has not now the advantage of the experience and wisdom of age, and therefore presents to the thinking foreigner the most unsatisfactory aspect. Foreigners who do not think, who know nothing—and perhaps care to know nothing—of causes and effects laugh at what they call the grotesque appearance of things.

The other colonies, especially the Gold Coast and Lagos, had a better start. No philanthropic aims shaped their beginnings. They came into existence as business centers, and the social and religious conditions were less interfered with; therefore we find in those colonies a degree of native manliness and manhood, of patriotism and independence, which we look for in vain in Sierra Leone, though it has been for over 100 years under British influence. Now, I consider it is the work of African lawyers and legislators to study the industrial and economic principles upon which African society must be founded, and recommend to the governing powers the enactment of laws accordingly. It is very rarely, and only under special circumstances, that governors are willing or able to interfere with the conditions they find. They may see inconveniences or drawbacks, but they cannot initiate reforms in the domestic, social, or religious affairs of the people. These must be suggested by the people themselves. The governor may see that a man's gait is awkward because his boots are too tight, but he cannot say to him, "Look here, your boots are not suitable to you. I see that they interfere with your natural walk." No, every man knows where the shoe pinches and he must indicate it. The man who is struck is the man to cry out. Governments listen to grievances; they do not, as a rule, suggest them. Europe will not refuse to assist in and promote legislation which will contribute to the usefulness and prosperity and happiness of its African subjects. The African lawyer must read what the European has left unread, or cannot read, "in the manuscripts of God." He must get away from the sphere of European technicalities, assumptions, and often forced inferences, into the world of African reality. He has a human record lying before him which he must study. It is an African record, and he must read it with African feelings. It is one chapter, and that not the least interesting and instructive chapter of the wonderful

history of man. We must look at the phenomena which it represents to us truthfully, and not allow the arbitrary constructions of foreigners to come between us and the veritable facts of the case, which appeal as well to our consciousness as to our reasoning.

The African system makes for justice. It protects the weak, and makes it obligatory upon you to give if you take. It solves the vexed problem in the European system, so far especially as the weaker sex is concerned—a problem which is the cause of untold suffering, making it possible and even easy for the strong to rob the weak without restoring (Deuteronomy xxii: 28, 29).

To give another example of our un-African methods. Such an occasion as this, to celebrate the rising of one of the sons of the soil to eminence, would, under proper native conditions, have been enjoyed by men, women, and children together. It would have been a communistic festival. Now, here we are, professing to enjoy ourselves in the cold, reserved, inhospitable fashion of men in the North, whose climate forbids the free, unrestrained, and abundant joyousness of outdoor life. This ought not so to be. We are too near the sun for this.

> Non obstusa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni,
> Nec tam aversus equos Tyria sol jungit ab urbe.

Perhaps we are nearing the time for changes in the legal attitude of the mother country toward the racial and climatic necessities of her tropical possessions. A recent number of the *Spectator* (October 24) says: "We live in an age of common sense, and law tends to become an adjunct of justice and convenience." And I am glad to see that young lawyers are arising among us able and willing to take advantage of this feature of law. We should all be proud to know that two Africans have attempted to instruct Europeans on native laws and native institutions—John Mensah Sarbah and Casely Hayford, both of the Gold Coast Colony. That colony, founded like that of Lagos, upon a native basis, has produced native authors whose productions command the respect of European thinkers. We have in our Doctor Renner, the sole native of Sierra Leone—I speak under correction—who on professional lines has commanded the attention of European scientists; but Sierra Leone should produce more, both in religion, in medicine, and in law. We are

not on a barren island limited in population and racial illustrations. We dwell on a continent where there are innumerable sources from which materials may be drawn to surround the studies with every possible attraction, and the reward of successful study in any one direction would be rich and lasting. I would sincerely commend this subject to the careful consideration of our youthful barristers, doctors, and clergymen.—*The Sierra Leone Weekly News.*

OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN TRADE AND ENTERPRISE IN LIBERIA.

[Consular Reports, January, 1904.]

Owing to the absence of direct steam communication between the United States and Liberia, the trade between the two countries is practically nil as compared with the trade between Liberia and Great Britain, Germany, France, and Holland.

Liberia produces many articles similar to those which the United States imports in large quantities, namely, coffee, palm oil, camwood, ginger, cacao, and piassava. There are great forests of rubber trees in the country, the British concessionaires controlling the industry.

The *Anglo-African Argus and Gold Coast Globe* notes that the palm oil shipped from Liverpool to the United States for the first six months of 1892 represented a total of 5,200 tons, entered at the following ports: New York, 2,595 tons; Boston, 1,243 tons; Newport News, 963 tons; Philadelphia, 385 tons, and Baltimore, 14 tons.

The *African League* (local journal of Monrovia), commenting on the importation of palm oil into the United States, says:

"This shows to what extent West African produce is used in the United States, or, at least, this particular West African product.

"It should be remembered by our friends and merchants in the United States that probably no part of West Africa is more productive of palm oil than Liberia; therefore, if there were direct steamship communication between the United States and Liberia the former would not have to buy through the agency

of Liverpool, but it could buy directly of Liberia, shipping it on the Americo-Liberian steamer.

"Not only could palm oil be shipped from Liberia to the United States, but thousands of tons of rubber could be shipped from the rubber fields of Liberia to the great ports of America, where it is so extensively used. Rubber is a great staple in Liberia, and is destined to be one of the greatest exports of the black Republic.

"Not only in these, but in her lumber industry, is she destined to rank first among the West African States. Her dense forests of mahogany trees of itself make Liberia great in the lumber industry. Besides mahogany, there is a wood in Liberia—a kind of ironwood—of which it is said there is hardly any end to its durability. Another very useful class of timber is the African pine, as also the African gum tree, and many other kinds of trees useful in the lumber industry. Hence lumbering in itself will finally form an important industry in Liberia, and her exports along this line will bring large returns of wealth t this nation."

The statement relative to rubber in the foregoing extract is misleading, as an English syndicate has a monopoly of the rubber industry; but the wealth of Liberia in forestry is all and more than the *League* claims.

A concession for the development of the Liberian lumber industry can be obtained by any substantial American syndicate.

A like opportunity offers for the cultivation of cotton in Liberia. Within the last two or three years the Germans in Togoland and the English in Lagos have been experimenting in cotton-growing with good results, and as Liberia is in the same physical belt as Lagos, there is no reason why similar results should not be obtained from like efforts. The natives have, from time immemorial, raised cotton and made their own cloth; hence there need not be any "experiment" outlay.

Liberia just now holds the attention of the mining world. While the American capitalist and mining investor has lost much by inactivity and lack of interest in the known mineral resources of this Republic, there are yet profitable fields lef open to investment.

Not only gold, silver, copper, tin, coal, and iron are found in Liberia, but diamonds have recently been discovered. The

right to prospect and mine in Montserrado and Maryland counties has been granted to the West African gold concessionaires of London, but Bassa and Sinoe counties are as yet unoccupied. By the agreement between the Government of Liberia and the West African concessionaires there is no close monopoly, as every other plat or block in the territory named is reserved to the government.

JAMES ROBERT SPURGEON,
Chargé d'Affaires.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, *August 15, 1903.*

THE BLACK MAN IN INLAND LIBERIA.

BY REV. U. L. WALKER.

The Republic of Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, owes its existence to the United States, through the American Colonization Society. The society was formed about 1817, and had for its object the planting of colonies of colored people from the United States. The manumitted slaves were thus urged to return to their own country, and the government sent back such Africans as had been surreptitiously brought into the country; altogether somewhere about twenty thousand were thus sent back. Territory was bought from the natives and civil administration was set up. At first the society was the only ruler of the colony, but about 1847 a constitution was adopted and the machinery of civil government was set in motion.

The territory of Liberia commences about ten degrees north of the equator and extends to about five degrees below. Jurisdiction is claimed for about two hundred miles inland. The soil is generally good, and a wide range of valuable products yield good returns for cultivation. Cotton, sugar-cane, and coffee are among the products, but the market for coffee has been broken down by the low prices. The government is modeled after that of the United States. Citizenship has been restricted to colored people. Schools are established and churches are organized. The Afro-Americans and their descendants are the ruling class. The schools have not been well sustained, and

education has been at a low point, but recently an effort has been made to raise the standard. Government schools have been established and are doing good work. The mission schools have been a factor to stimulate the people on educational lines. Considerable trade is carried on, and in general there are indications of sufficient vitality to give hope of a successful national growth.

The natives, as distinguished from those of American descent, have very considerable force of character, and are making encouraging progress in social and civil life. They live in tribes varying in number from a few hundred to some thousands. In civil order the chief or king is called "Blocan," or land-master. In his name all tribal matters are discussed.

The tribes are composed of families, each looking to one old man as chief, who holds the family wealth and to whom all pay their earnings. The chief pays all the important bills. The Rabah is the head of the town, and his office is a little lower than that of the Blocan. In his name all town questions are discussed and verdicts given. Sometimes, however, he does not approve of or participate in the discussion.

The houses are small round huts, with conical roofs of thatch. The hut is built of mud or splints made of cottonwood. It has from one to three doors, but no windows or chimney. A house fifteen feet in diameter is a large house. The houses have one room and a dry room in the chamber. The floor is the earth beaten hard. They make their stoves by putting three *glebbies* together and setting the kettle on them. The *glebbie* is made of clay, and is about six inches in diameter and twelve inches long. The cooking utensils and water pots are made of white clay by the women. The chairs are pieces of wood about three inches in thickness. The bed is made of a rush resembling our straw matting, and is about six feet in length by two and a half feet in width. By putting a stick of wood under one end, and the foot to the fire, with a piece of cloth for a cover, the bed is ready.

Polygamy is practiced. A man may have as many wives as his family will buy for him, usually about three, but sometimes twelve. The man wanting a wife may be an old man, a leper or an inebriate, and the girl a bright, attractive child of perhaps less than ten years. If he can bring the dowry money of fifty dollars, there is but one obstacle to prevent his taking the child

for his wife—that is the failure to get the consent of her parents. But many times, and especially with the mothers, they are only too glad to sell their daughters, as this puts more money into the common treasury and gives the parents prominence in the family and tribe. Thus it is a blessing to have many daughters to sell.

Women are the burden-bearers and are the servants of their husbands. The wife must assist in clearing the farm, plant all the rice, assist in harvesting and caring for the rice in the house, and, when dried, beat it out of the straw in a mortar with a stick about six feet long. She must cook the food for the family, cut and bring to town all the wood, bring all the water, get her husband's bath water ready and take it to the bath-house. In case these and many other duties are not attended to to his satisfaction, she is subject to severe treatment from her husband.

One time, when a missionary was in town, she saw a woman sitting on a mortar with her back bathed in palm oil, and a man over her with oil in his mouth and a torch in his hand, ready to burn her. The man had bitten his wife twice, so that there was blood in his mouth; he was in the act of repeating the process when he saw the missionary coming and ceased.

It is a common occurrence when traveling to meet a man with his wives, each having a load of forty pounds on her head, and sometimes a large child on her back, and he walking with his cane and umbrella. In case he does not wish to use his umbrella he will put it on the load of one of his wives.

There is no home life—no true love. The sick and aged, especially the aged women, are very much neglected. In our town there have been many cases where this class would have suffered for food and for care if it had not been for the assistance from the missions. These people are past usefulness, hence neglected. I have seen patients very ill with pneumonia, consumption, malarial fever, etc., lying on the native bed, and when the friends find there is no hope of recovery, the bed is taken away and the patient is put on the floor.

The religion of the country is spiritualism. They, like all heathen people, believe in a supreme being whom they call "Niswah," or god. They believe him to be supremely good. Thus they do not need to worship him, as they will not meet

with his displeasure. They believe in and worship the spirits of the dead, or "Coo," who have power to do them good or evil; therefore they worship them to appease them. This is done in many ways. Young men and women are sent to the school of the medicine man, or witch doctor, as we call him, where they are taught the art of sorcery. These sorcerers supply the people with charms, or jujus, for their persons, house, or farm. The chiefs also get them for their town and country.

Sacrifices enter largely into their religious system. They resemble those of the Israelites, and are offered to "Coo." In offering their yearly sacrifice, which is a bullock, they call God's name in connection with that of the "Coo." Their sacrifices are for tribe, family, and individuals. In case blood has been shed there must be a burnt offering to purify the land. This is usually a white hen.

In settling tribal wars they many times offer human sacrifice. We have in our school a girl that was taken as a slave in war, who at one time was to be offered in sacrifice, but was rescued by a heathen man interceding for her. The first fruits of their harvests are offered as a war offering to "Coo."

Theirs is an undeveloped country abounding in wealth. Narrow foot paths are their only roads. They carry their loads on their heads. Conveyance on the rivers is by dugouts or canoes.

Gold and iron have been discovered in many places. There are large forests of walnut, mahogany, camwood, and other valuable woods. Seventy-five miles from the coast, on Cavalla river, I have often been in a large forest of these valuable woods. Near the center of this forest there is undeveloped water power. The native people are anxious that the Methodist mission should occupy this site and develop this power by establishing an industrial mission. They will make it possible for us to secure from the government all the land, and will give us all the lumber we can use. With a small capital there might be an industrial mission established where we could own the lumber and manufacture it for mission purposes and sell enough to help in the support of the mission. Such an industry would be a great factor in assisting to civilize, educate, and Christianize these people.

I lived for three years among these people, but for lack of

mission force we were moved. Some stations had to be closed, and this seemed to be the one to abandon. When we were moved Bishop Hartzell sent Miss Agnes McAllister with us to tell the people we must leave them. When she told Rawbah, he said: "We know these missionaries are sick, but we cannot let them go until you send us some one to take their place." As it was death to go without his permission, the missionaries looked to God for an answer, and then Miss McAllister said: "Rawbah, you say these people are sick, and yet you cannot let them go. They must go. But you are not going to be left alone; you have your missionary. There is Garwood, who was drowned and buried on Mission hill. We will not take him from you; he will always be your missionary. You remember his lessons and know this, that when Jesus comes and Garwood comes forth, you cannot tell Jesus you never knew, for Garwood has taught you and has read the Bible, prayed with and for you, and if another missionary comes he will read the same Bible, pray to the same God, and sing the same hymns. Now, you must pray to Garwood's God and ask him to send you a missionary."

Rawbah said: "You talk true; we will do as you say, but we want a live missionary. You ask big father (meaning Bishop Hartzell) if he can send us a missionary." I visited these people about three years later, and they asked me the same question—"Can we have a missionary?"

I was told that Rawbah had family prayers night and morning, and always asked Garwood's God for a missionary. What steward of God is going to help these benighted people, who have only a spark of light, but who are using it to the best of their ability to answer their own prayers? Here is a golden opportunity for an investment that will pay the largest possible returns for time and eternity.

Bishop Taylor's method was to establish Christian homes in every town, and take these people, especially the children, into our homes, and give them an industrial Christian education. He was never able to fully develop his plans for lack of funds. We are working on similar plans. We have established our work in a few centers, and take as many of these people into our homes or boarding-schools as we can house and teach. Here they are given an industrial Christian education.

We have school about four hours a day, where the students receive instruction in branches such as are taught in primary and grammar schools. In all our missions we have our mechanical department and our farms. We do our own building and repairing, and prepare our own lumber with the old-fashioned pit saw. On our farms we grow tropical fruits and vegetables. The girls are taught the art of dressmaking, care of their persons, and of their homes, and trained to be Christian women. We have three Bible lessons each day, where we spend half an hour each time in studying God's Word. We give these people a practical education to fit them for Christian usefulness in after life.

Our first school in Cape Palmas district was opened in 1877; in 1889 we had our first convert in the interior. What is the result of these years of labor? We have among our converts native evangelists and workers, who are preaching the gospel, teaching school, caring for the sick and aged, and living consistent Christian lives.

At one of our missions there were a number of converts. When the missionary was moved there was among the converts one who could read a little. These people met at his house every day for family prayers, and on the Sabbath for worship. They are keeping the commandments of God, and as they have received Jesus Christ, their Lord, they are walking in him, but they need a shepherd.

Our substations are manned by our native converts. At one place there were eighteen in the family. The missionary preached the gospel, taught school for five days in the week, superintended the farm, cared for the sick in his own school, and had many medical calls from town. For the support of this family and his services he received last year $30.

There are many other of our converts who are making large sacrifices to carry the Gospel to these benighted people. It will cost to support a student in our school, for board, books, etc., $15 a year.—*The Missionary Review of the World.*

GENERAL DAVIS' REPORT ON SENATOR MORGAN'S PROPOSITION TO COLONIZE NEGROES.

Gen. George W. Davis, commanding the Division of the Philippines, has made a report to the War Department in regard to the plan of Senator Morgan respecting the use of Negro troops in the Philippines, with the ultimate object of their becoming permanent residents of the islands when they should have completed the terms of their military engagements.

He says he conceived that the objects sought to be accomplished are twofold:

"First. To cover the Filipino lands with liberty-loving Negro settlers, whose religious independence would ever resist the efforts of any priesthood to control their conscience.

"Second. To relieve the existing congestion of Negro population in the Southern States by transferring large numbers of this race to the congenial soil of the Philippines, where they may aid in the development of the country."

General Davis reviews at length the conditions under which the Philippines were acquired and the method of administration of the affairs of the islands since that time.

"Would the Negroes of our Southern States, enlisted and trained as soldiers under white officers and organized into companies, battalions, and regiments, furnish an adequate instrumentality for realizing these objects?

"Assuming an affirmative answer to this question, would these men, after discharge from the army, be willing to stay and become law-abiding, industrious settlers?

"A third question also suggests itself: Would the nucleus of the Negro race thus transferred and established be augmented largely from home? Would it result in a veritable hegira, a transfer of large numbers of this surplus population from the southern United States, their present home, to vacant lands in the tropical antipodes?

"An attempt to enlist Negroes in the States on a basis of soldiering for one to five years and remaining permanently in the Philippines as permanent residents would meet with scant success—no more than has attended the efforts to induce the colored race in America to remove to Liberia.

"There is nothing grown in the oriental tropics by methods known to our southern Negroes. In Alabama a Negro, his family, and a mule can easily plow, plant, and harvest cotton or corn for an area of ten acres or more. Here a native Filipino and his family, with one carabao, may be able to cultivate an acre and grow enough rice or maize, bananas or sweet potatoes for their own subsistence, but no more. Here the cotton plant is a large shrub, a perennial—the natives call it a tree—but the staple is short, the yield insufficient, and not one-tenth of the cotton wool required for native uses is grown here. More than one-half of the rice consumed in these islands is produced in China, but the abaca is a fiber produced nowhere else, and the world's consumption of Manila hemp is continually increasing, a crop produced exclusively by small farmers, and the entire equipment required for the cultivation and preparation for market is made by natives—a wooden hoe, a spade, and a rude device by means of which the threads of fiber are divested of the matrix of sap and glutinous material.

"If our Negroes would work, they could, given the land free—of which there are vast unoccupied areas in Mindanao, Samar, Mindoro, Paragua, and Basilan—become independent. But would they work if uncontrolled? If our Negroes from the South were living in the Philippines, would they do better than any others of their race in the West Indies?

"There is one plant for which the soil and climate of the Philippines is admirably suited, which cannot be cultivated with best economy except in very extensive tracts under one control, and this involves a very large aggregation of capital under one management. Sugar-cane is referred to, of course.

"The Negroes would have an opportunity of bettering themselves by engaging in abaca, coffee, cacao and rice culture, for they will have learned the methods that must be followed, and when their contracts expire with the sugar planter they may launch out as small planters, each working his own fields as do the natives.

"Some will marry with Filipino women and some with their own race; they will write home of their prosperity, and more will come, either as contract laborers or as settlers, perhaps aided by the insular government. Such immigrants would be as useful as the average discharged soldier would be worthless.

His military experience, during which he had never a thought for the morrow, would have spoiled him entirely for manual labor and he would never become self-reliant and industrious. * * *

"If capital is enlisted in this cause, the hegira which Senator Morgan desires may be realized and the funds for investment will be found if the government is efficient and fair in its attitude toward investors.

"There are available but two classes of laborers who are naturally fitted to withstand the enervating effects of the tropical climate, who are equally suited to the task and exist in sufficient numbers. These are the Negroes who overpopulate our Southern States and the Oriental coolie; both withstand equally well the tropical malaria and the cold of northern winters; both are good laborers and docile and law-abiding; but the Chinese are hated intensely by the Filipinos. They have been massacred by the tens of thousands, and had the Filipinos achieved their independence the Chinese would have been forbidden to come here or to stay here. It would be extremely unfortunate if the doors should be opened to a general Chinese immigration, for, next to the friars, the Filipinos hate the Chinamen.

"To secure an exodus to the Philippines of the superabundant blacks in the Southern States a few acts of government are necessary:

"1. Some sort of homestead law under which the *bona fide* squatter could receive free a title to land for a home after certain improvements had been made and crops harvested.

"2. Insular aid in way of transportation and a start in the islands to *bona fide* Negro immigrants.

"3. Laws should be enacted permitting the granting of franchises, so that capital may be induced to come.

"4. In order that modern sugar-making may be established, land subsidies should be allowed to individuals or companies who undertake to establish sugar centers on a large scale, the passing of final title to the land to be conditioned upon the realization of the project and production of a certain tonnage of sugar for a term of years.

"5. Industrial establishments such as the above to be exempt from all taxation for a short term of years on capital invested in fixtures.

"6. The establishment of steamship lines plying between these islands and our Pacific coast, so that communication may be rapid, the contracts for this service to require the lowest possible rates to intending settlers."—*The Evening Star.*

ITEMS.

INAUGURATION OF THE ELEVENTH PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA FOR THE TWENTY-NINTH TERM.—On Monday, January 4, the eleventh President of the Republic of Liberia was inaugurated. The national capital, Monrovia, was the scene of brilliant display. A gun fired from Fort Norris announced the dawn of day, the slumbering inhabitants awoke to consciousness, and the strains of martial music were wafted along on the morning breezes; soon everywhere the busy whirl of life began. The quiet city began to put on its holiday attire, and at 8 o'clock, when the second signal from the fort sounded, the varied hues of the many-colored banners, unfurled to the breeze from the public buildings and private residences, made quite a gorgeous display. Waving palm branches figured conspicuously in the decoration. The thoroughfares of the city were crowded with visitors from early morning until far into the night; patriotic citizens came to do honor to the occasion and to pay their tribute of respect to the man of the people's choice.

At 11 o'clock a. m. a military escort, under the command of Brigadier General G. S. Padmore, proceeded to the Executive Mansion to escort the President and Cabinet to Government Square, where the oath of office was to be administered. The procession was formed in the following order: the President and President-elect, Vice-President and members of the Cabinet, judges of the Supreme Court, foreign diplomats and members of the legislature, judiciary and municipal authorities, etc., and proceeding down Ashmun street to Randall, thence up Broad street to the square where a grand stand had been erected for the occasion. Under the spreading branches of large mango trees, which shielded the immense throng of spectators from the glaring rays of the noonday sun, amid waving palm branches and gaily colored bunting and flags, the procession halted, the soldiers forming a line on either side of the entrance. Through their columns passed the President and President-elect, Vice-President and the Cabinet, followed by the judges of the Supreme Court and the rest of the procession in order. Senator Thorne met the President and President-elect, the Vice-President, and Cabinet at the foot of the rostrum and ushered them to their respective places upon the rostrum. President-elect Barclay occupied the chair to the left of President Gibson, and Vice-President Summerville on the right. The Cabinet occupied seats on the right side of the rostrum and the Chief Justice and associate

judges on the left. Near the stage on the right were seated the foreign diplomats, representatives of the United States, England, Germany, France, and Holland. To the right of these sat Mrs. Barclay, Mrs. Grimes, sister of the President-elect, and his daughters; next to these sat the ladies of the diplomatic corps and the Cabinet and other government officials. The seats near the stage on the left were occupied by the members of the legislature.

The Senate and House of Representatives then convened in joint session and resolved themselves into a committee of the whole to inaugurate the President. The oath of office was then administered to President-elect Barclay; ex-President Gibson then retired from the chair and sat on the left of President Barclay; immediately a national salute from the South battery announced the induction of a new administration. The national anthem was rendered by the military bands, after which the President arose to make his inaugural address. His rising was the signal for a burst of deafening applause from those within the grand stand and those on the outside who were fortunate to get near enough to catch a glimpse of His Excellency as he stood up in the vigor of his manhood and looked around upon that vast concourse of people. After a brief pause his voice rang out loud and clear, "Fellow-citizens," and quiet reigned supreme, all lent a listening ear, and all eyes were turned upon the man of the hour. He was interrupted by frequent bursts of applause and cries of approval during his address, which we publish in full in this issue. After he had taken his seat the oath was administered to the Vice-President. The ladies then retired to the Executive Mansion, followed by the President, and the rest of the procession passed out through the Ashmun Street entrance, where a row of arches representing the respective counties were erected; these were adorned with flowers and streamers of the colors of the several counties, viz., pink, blue, green, yellow, and white. Young ladies in white dresses and wreaths held the streamers, and flower girls bearing bouquets stood along the line from the gate of the square to the door of the mansion. On the piazza of the Executive Mansion, in the presence of a large audience, Miss Clavena Sherman addressed the President in behalf of the ladies of the Republic. The President replied in a few appropriate remarks, and then proceeded to the reception room on the left, where he received the congratulations of his friends and the citizens who thronged the parlors.

At 6 o'clock p. m. another salute was fired, flags were lowered, and preparations made for the illumination. As the setting sun sank slowly behind the western hills and daylight vanished before sable-robed night, the public buildings and residences were ablaze with light, Japanese lanterns swung from window and piazza, and a grand display of fireworks in Government Square ended the day. Soon gaily dressed ladies and gentlemen in immaculate attire began to throng the doors of the mansion, and the parlors were quickly filled. The military bands were in attendance, and dispensed sweet music to the evident pleasure of the guests. The grand march was the first feature of the evening, after which the

inaugural ball was on. Fair ladies and gallant gentlemen glided to and fro in perfect rhythm to the enchanting music, until fully satiated with the pleasures of the day, the guests began to depart, and soon the brilliantly lighted parlors were wrapped in darkness and silence.

Thus ended the inauguration of the eleventh President of Liberia, for the twenty-ninth term. He takes his seat with the full confidence and support of the people, who entertain the most sanguine hopes for the future of the country.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

Bishop J. C. Hartzell writes on board the steamer *Oron*, January 4, that he will reach Cape Palmas January 8 and Monrovia January 15. Rev. W. S. Naylor is with him as traveling companion. He will preside over the Liberia annual conference, which convenes January 20 in the M. E. Church, Monrovia. This will be an important session, as it ends the second quadrennium of the bishop's supervision. A cordial invitation is extended to friends generally to meet the bishop and Rev. Naylor while in Liberia.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

Another Colonization Scheme—Emigration to Africa to be Invited under French Auspices.—Another scheme has been added to those already formed toward the colonization abroad of the colored population of the United States. The scheme has come from the French people, but it is not a government affair as it was in 1791 and 1848, when freedom first and political rights afterward were granted to the Negroes of the French colonies. It is a private plan worked out by a company owning large tracts of land in the French Congo, West Africa, and it has the official guarantee and written permission from the ministry of the colonies to offer its lands for the colonization of American Negroes. M. Gabriel Hanotaux, recently minister of foreign affairs in France, declared that he would go to the United States at the head of the committee which it is proposed to send over here, in order to solicit cöoperation. This committee will be formed on the same lines as that of the well-known "Committee of French Asia," whose director, Colonel de la Panouse, is one of the promoters of the new plan.

These men and their associates, moved by their sincere friendship for their great sister republic, are anxious to help her out of the difficulties of the Negro question without sacrificing the welfare of the colored race. They have heard and read that the Negro population will outnumber the whites in a hundred years. They have also heard and read reports of the spread of Negro lynching, even in the Western and Northern States, and draw somewhat exaggerated conclusions from those reports, and they knew that John Temple Graves, in a public conference at Chicago, advised that the government should send all the Negroes to the Philippines, and that similar plans were proposed by others.

The impracticability of these schemes was evident, and the French promoters think that, in order to avoid the "Negro peril," it would be

sufficient to colonize abroad each year a number of colored people about equal to that of the births occurring annually in the Negro population. In this way emigration would be more easily effected financially, and it would not disturb the conditions of labor.

The committee which may come here will furnish full particulars regarding the emigration scheme. All that is known here is that every emigrant will receive a home, with a piece of land, in the Congo region, and be made a full-fledged French citizen, paying taxes as an independent proprietor, but enjoying safety and self-esteem under the laws of that country, which was always so favorable to the colored race.—*New York Tribune.*

Secular News.—The Negro problem is being solved in North Carolina, according to Governor Aycock, of that State. Disfranchisement as far as possible, the essential superiority of the white men, and the recognition by the Negro of his own inferiority constitute the settlement of the question in that State, according to the governor: "We have taken the Negro out of politics and have thereby secured good government under any party and laid foundations for the future development of both races. We have secured peace and rendered prosperity a certainty. As far as is possible under the fifteenth amendment, disfranchise the Negro; after that, let him alone; quit writing about him, quit talking about him, quit making him 'the white man's burden,' let him 'tote his own skillet,' quit coddling him, let him learn that no man, no race, ever got anything worth the having that he did not himself earn; that character is the outcome of sacrifice and worth is the result of toil; that whatever his future may be, the present has in it for him nothing that is not the product of industry, thrift, obedience to law, and uprightness; that he cannot, by resolution of council or league, accomplish anything; that he can do much by work; that violence may gratify his passions, but it cannot accomplish his ambition. Let the Negro learn once for all that there is unending separation of the races; that the two peoples may develop side by side to the fullest, but that they cannot intermingle. Let the white man determine that no man shall by act, or thought, or speech cross this line, and the race problem will be at an end. If manifest destiny leads to the seizure of Panama, it is certain that it likewise leads to the dominance of the Caucasian. When the Negro recognizes this fact we shall have peace and good will between the races, but I would not have the white people forget their duty to the Negro. We must seek the truth and pursue it. We owe an obligation 'to the man in black.' We brought him here. He served us well. He is patient and teachable. We owe him gratitude. Above all, we owe him justice. We cannot forget his fidelity, and we ought not to magnify his faults. We cannot change his color, neither can we ignore his service. No individual ever 'rose on stepping stones of dead' others 'to higher things,' and no people can. We must rise by ourselves; we must execute judgment in righteousness; we must educate, not only ourselves, but see to it that the

Negro has an opportunity for education. The white man in the South can never attain to his fullest growth until he does absolute justice to the Negro race. If he is doing that now, it is well for him. If he is not doing it, he must seek to know the ways of truth and pursue them."—*The Christian Work and The Evangelist.*

A Sad but Unusual Catastrophe.—Never before in all the thirty-seven years of its history has the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church sustained such a lamentable and unusual loss as has just come to it in the burning of one of the buildings of Walden University, Nashville, Tenn. The building was occupied by girls, and caught fire about 11 o'clock at night. According to the best information at hand at the present time, thirteen lives were lost, including those who have since died from injuries sustained. The names given are: Stella Addison, Port Gibson, Miss.; Mattie L. Moore, Huntsville, Ala.; Sallie Dade, Hopkinsville, Ky.; Nannie Johnson, Hattiesburg, Miss.; Maggie Shroufe, Dover, Ky.; Mabel Stewart, Quito, Tenn.; Bessie M. Oliver, Tuscaloosa, Ala.; Eva Jamison, Winchester, Tenn.; Cora Bryant, Cleveland, Miss.; Adele Christian, Greensboro, Ala., and Lulu Terry, McMinnville, Tenn. As we understand it, there are two others who have since died, but whose names we are not able to give at this writing. The injured and dying were cared for at the Mercy Hospital, in charge of Dr. R. F. Boyd, at Dr. J. T. Wilson's Infirmary, and at the City Hospital. The two first named had twelve each and the City Hospital four. Among those seriously injuired is Miss Eleanor Moore, of Chicago, the preceptress. We regret that we cannot at this time give the full list of those in the hospital. A number of the boys of the institution are credited by the Nashville papers with working heroically, even at the risk of their lives, to rescue the inmates of the building. Those mentioned are N. Marion, George Ford, and Charles Buck. Each one is credited with rescuing a young woman while the building was burning and conveying her in safety to the ground. Many telegrams of condolence and others offering assistance have been received at the institution. Among those mentioned are Profs. Booker T. Washington and W. H. Council. The students of Fisk University sent a wagonload of wearing apparel, and donations of the same kind were received from the merchants in the city. Wiley University, Marshall, Texas, collected and forwarded to President J. Benson Hamilton $50; the *Southwestern Christian Advocate* gives $20 and will be pleased to acknowledge any amount sent through it by individuals or congregations. The accounts given of the fire are exceedingly distressing, but it is unnecessary to harrow the feelings of our readers with them. We feel sure that they will be pleased to know that everything possible was done for those who were injured by this sad occurrence. The building was insured for $13,500, and, as we understand, another will be erected at an early date. Should we succeed in gathering additional information, it will be given our readers.—*Southwestern Christian Advocate.*

A Letter from Bishop Hartzell.—The sail from Naples, through the Mediterranean, Suez canal, Red sea, and down the east coast of Africa to this port, in the good German steamer *Herzoz*, occupied twenty-five days. The heat in the Red sea was terrific for four days, and after we rounded Cape Guardafui, the most easterly point of the continent, the southwest monsoons caught us and for several days we sailed in the teeth of heavy and sometimes terrific winds and adverse currents. The result was we reached this port three days late. Our places of stopping were Port Said and Suez, at the two ends of the canal in Egypt; Aden, in Arabia; Tauga and Das Salaam, in German East Africa; Zanzibar, Mozambique, and Chinde; that last place at one of the mouths of the Zambesi. Mombasa, the capital of British East Africa, is destined to be an important coast town. From here the new railroad extends 650 miles to Lake Albert Nyanza. An American company built twenty-seven of the bridges. The work was done in one year and was superintended by a Pennsylvania young man 24 years old. The Germans have started a railroad from Tauga. Zanzibar is a bit of the eastern world dropped down on the eastern coast of Africa. It is ruled by a Turkish Sultan, under a British protectorate. The people are a strange mixture as to races, religions, customs, and occupations. For centuries it has been the starting point of expeditions, good and bad, along the eastern coast and for the interior of Africa. The island is about 50 miles long and it is about 40 miles to the mainland.

Beira is the natural ocean port for Rhodesia, and a railroad extends nearly 1,000 miles to Victoria Falls on the Zambesi, passing through Umtali, Salisbury, and Buluwayo, all in Rhodesia. At the latter place there is railway connections with Cape Town 1,600 miles to the southeast.

At present there is a general commercial depression throughout South Africa. This is but a natural reaction after so great a war and the unsettled condition of many large questions, political, commercial, and racial. One of the questions that we meet everywhere, of which the most is said in the great mining centers, is the labor questions. Within five years the Transvaal alone could probably use 500,000 laborers. It is not possible that so large a demand can be met from African natives in addition to furnishing labor for the many other centers, mining, agricultural, and commercial. The natives will only increase in labor force as by change of conditions their needs multiply and they feel their wants sufficiently to lead them to work. Shall Chinese or Indian labor be brought in? If so, can it be done without introducing a permanent and undesirable population or contracts, which will send them back after a term of years, be made and kept, so as to forbid the appearance of practically contract forced labor? In the meantime, the mining and all interests languish and shares of every kind are lower than for years.

I leave by train tonight for Umtali, arriving there tomorrow afternoon. Our two new churches, one for the European and African whites and the other for the native blacks, are awaiting my coming for dedication.

I expect to sail from this port about October 20, on a Portuguese steamer that sails direct for St. Paul de Loanda on the West Coast, stopping only at Delagoa Bay. The steamer is due in Loanda December 8, and I have cabled the brethren there today, fixing the opening of the West Central Africa Conference for December 15, at Loanda. I hope to leave Loanda about January 1, 1904, for Liberia. This should bring me at Monrovia about February 1, and I would like the conference held as soon after as can be. On my arrival at Loanda, when I learn the ship sailings, I will cable you via Sierra Leone and fix date of conference. In meantime publish and write the facts just given to the brethren of the conference, so they can be preparing.

Rev. W. S. Naylor is with me as a traveling companion, and is cooperating in the study of our African work and in placing its needs before the church.

I am greatly pleased with the enterprise and increasing value of the *New Africa*. I am expecting yet larger success with its new name, *Liberia and West Africa*, its enlarged size, increased printing facilities, and growing interest in the paper among the people.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

PANAMA CANAL LABORERS—FIFTY THOUSAND NEEDED FOR EIGHT YEARS, AND IT IS "UP TO" THE UNITED STATES TO FURNISH THEM.—Panama, Dec. 22.—Since the United States decided to buy the Panama canal from the Paris company, Major Black and Lieutenant Brooks, of the Engineer Corps, U. S. A., have been living at a point where digging has been going on. Their duty is to observe how much is being done, so that the purchasers may determine what fairly should be added to the purchase price for work accomplished between the time of the bargain and the actual transfer of the property. They report that from 6,000 to 7,000 cubic meters a month are being removed from the Culebra hill; that the hill was ninety meters above the level desired, and that it is now only forty, and that this fifty-meter cañon has an average bottom width of one hundred meters.

Thus the bugbear of the earlier company no longer scares anybody. It has been subjugated and laid low. Altogether, according to the American engineers, the canal across the Isthmus is at this time two-fifths completed. Something has been done the entire length, 84,000,000 cubic meters of earth having been excavated, and for fourteen miles from the Atlantic and four miles from the Pacific side the canal is full of water and needs only to be dredged deeper. Thirty-six miles remain dry cuttings, most of them now overgrown with low jungle, at least eight years' labor by some 50,000 persons lying between this day and the opening of the waterway to ships.

To get these 50,000 laborers will involve difficulties. West Indian Negroes have been found valuable, for they are not generally subject to the fevers; but only 15,000 at the most can be drawn from the islands of the Caribbean. Where will the other 35,000 be had? There arrived a

labor contractor the other day who offered to bring the whole 50,000 from China and Japan. What he is trying to get around is this: American laws are to govern on the canal strip, and they prohibit the importation of Chinese labor into American territory. Another impediment is the desire of the men who nominated the men to be chosen to the constitutional convention that there shall be a clause in Panama's constitution excluding Chinese forever from the Isthmus.

Dr. Amador is actively interesting himself in this question. The leading newspaper characterizes the Chinese as "vampires who unceasingly absorb blood from all veins; insatiable panthers who never relax their persecution of victims; a devouring plague which is always prevailing," and demands that the Chinese be shut out, and that those who do not own real property be expelled.

What is to be done in the circumstances is primarily "up to" the United States. By the treaty Panama cedes to this country the control of the canal zone in perpetuity, "to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any sovereign rights, power, or authority." A special act of Congress will be required, no doubt, to permit the entrance of laborers necessary for the tremendous task still ahead in the Isthmus. Very many will die. Many will soon desert, owing to the hard conditions of digging. They will save a little money and settle on farms near or far, probably both near and far, a proceeding which will disturb the Republic of Panama and the United States together. After the canal is built the perplexity will be how to get them out of the territory of each. This is the worry of "expansion" (for at the Isthmus, among naval officers, our part in the Panama "transformation" is looked upon as nothing else in effect). Settled policies are strained and broken and cast away.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

Colored National Emigration and Commercial Association.—The members of this association appear to have gotten tired of sending in their dues and enlisting new members. The way we are going on we will not be able to purchase our contemplated ship in twenty-five years. We are almost becoming discouraged. We wish for the members to either pay up their quarterly fees and work for the organization or let us meet in convention and disband and allow us, as chancellor, to return every man his money, for—thank God!—we have it, and it shall not be spent for anything but a ship to ply between the United States and Africa. There are millions, if not billions, in it if our association would go to work and raise the amount of money, which we could do and not half try. There is a perfect lag in our association. Is it possible the American Negro can start and finish nothing? Had all of us rather remain in this country and be disfranchised, uncivil-righted, shot, hung, burnt, and skinned alive, without judge or jury, than build up a nation of our own outside of this devil-ridden country? Let the members and friends of our enterprise wake up and send in money by the hundreds and thousands.—*H. M. Turner, Treasurer and Chancellor, Atlanta, Ga.*

ARTHUR BARCLAY IS THE NEW PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA, who was inaugurated last month. Among his conspicuous utterances by the way of his inaugural was for the conciliation of the aborigines, the native Africans, who heretofore have been neglected. It is very possible that the former rulers of Africa have made fatal mistakes in not trying to merge that overwhelmingly populous element. But it is a fact, borne out by the President's recommendation, that the men of the bush have had no cordial invitation to join the ways of civilization made possible in Liberia. Mr. Barclay, as we view it from this distance, shows wisdom in seeking these people, who certainly are susceptible to the same influences noted elsewhere.

It is evident that Mr. Barclay means to enlarge the Republic in every known way that it is possible for him to do so. Commercially he hopes for much and is insisting that grants be made to foreigners to facilitate trading and farming. He seems to be alive to the situation. Liberia needs a wise, active, wide awake executive with plenty of power; it needs to be touched and thrilled with the newer day civilization that it may also stand up and be counted. It hopes to attract people from America, but in order to do so it must give a good account of itself.—*The Freeman.*

THE LEGISLATURE IN SESSION.—This branch of government has been at work for the last month and the whole country looks up to them and is hoping with deep anxiety that effective and workable legislation will be the result of their labors during their present session. We need not mention that it is expected that they will legislate for the good of the whole people and not a few, and thereby escape the criticism which has been so frequently made referable to that body, namely, legislating for themselves and not the people. For example, the people complain that within the last fifteen years that body has raised their salaries three times: early in the eighties they raised it from $5.00 per diem, which amounted to about $300.00, allowing sixty days for the session, to $400.00; and early in the nineties they raised it to $500.00; three years ago they raised it to $550.00. Now all this does not include their mileage and lay days.

Let it be remembered that within the same period of time not another branch of government has enjoyed a like benefit, but rather suffered retrenchment.—*Liberia Recorder.*

NEW PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA, ARTHUR BARCLAY, SUCCESSFULLY INAUGURATED AT MONROVIA JANUARY 4.—London, January 29.—Advices received here from Liberia say that the new President, Arthur Barclay, was successfully inaugurated at Monrovia, the capital, January 4. The keynotes of his address to the people were commercial freedom and the conciliation of the aboriginal population of Liberia, to which little attention has been

paid for many years. The President dwelt on the advantages the Liberians derived from Europeans and white Americans. He urgently advocated commercial alliances and recommended granting greater facilities to all foreigners for trading and farming.—*The Evening Star.*

NORTHWESTERN CANADA.—While the great Dominion of Canada as a whole may be said very truly to be one of the brightest gems in the diadem of the British Empire, yet the northwestern portion of this great dominion, taking in the provinces of Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca, can more truly be called the gem portion of the Dominion of Canada; therefore we will particularly confine our statements to this part.

First, its area. Here on the summit of the continent we have a block of territory a thousand miles square, or 640,000,000 acres. This is within the great margin still outside of it. It requires thought and consideration to take in the significance of such an acreage. First, we have here possibly the largest consecutive acreage of arable land to be found anywhere in the world. Not only is the soil prolific in response to cultivation, as has been demonstrated by Manitoba and the outlying districts, which have been recently settled, having produced samples of the strongest and best grain in the world; but even without cultivation this whole area has been richly endowed by Nature as one of the greatest pasture lands in the world. For many centuries millions of buffalo fed on these acres, lived, and flourished because of the nutriment derived from the natural grasses grown thereon. Mixing up with these herds of buffalo were countless flocks of antelope. Thus the question of the stock-bearing possibilities of these great pastures was settled in the past. We have but to consider the economic forces of brain and industry to begin to calculate the tremendous significance of the meat, and horse, and wool-producing pastures in this great area. The very fact of these advantages having obtained under what might be termed a wilderness state is a demonstration that everywhere throughout this great area the moisture is sufficient; the water supply is fully in evidence; and this from our many years' observation has been found to be the case. Already, the two factors above referred to—that is, the grain and vegetable producing qualities of this portion of Canada, and its meat and horse and wool-producing qualities as well—have been very effectually demonstrated by the settlement which has gone on there within the last quarter of the century; this, however, is but the beginning of the exploiting of the tremendous possibilities which still continue dormant because of the lack of population.

Contiguous to and underlying these great agricultural and pastoral advantages are immense coal fields, possibly the largest as yet discovered in the world. We have in Alberta, which may fitly be called the Sirloin Province of the Dominion of Canada, outcroppings of coal covering an area 500 miles long by 250 miles wide. In several districts within this area these coal fields have been mined for some years and are being

more fully developed to-day. Everywhere in the northwestern portion of Canada these anthracite and bituminous coal products are being used, both for home and transport purposes; therefore the fuel problem may be said to have been solved, so far as an indefinite future is concerned. Contiguous to these other natural products we have minerals; gold in the sands of the streams; gold and silver and copper in the quartz ledges of the mountains. The areas for the prospecting and discovering of these mineral deposits is so great that as yet very little has been done as to the whole.

Another strong factor in the development of natural resources is water power. Almost everywhere in this thousand-square-mile area there is abundance of water power. The great rivers which flow from perennial sources—the mountains themselves—with their multiple tributary streams, with their strong currents and tumbling cascades, are as so many voices calling to the adventurous and speculative man, "Come and harness us as your machinery."

Another most pleasing feature in connection with this area is its beauty, hundreds of miles of it being one continuous park, hillside and valley, natural lawn and terrace, islands of timber intersecting these as with artistic placing, and thus one may travel for days amidst ever-changing scenes of beauty. Within the foothills and the mountains the scenery is surpassingly grand. Here verily is a field for the tourist; here is a veritable ocean of scenic variety for the lover of nature to roam in.

Another strong consideration, and most significant to every true Briton, is that all this rich country is in touch with the home markets through British routes; no foreign power lies between. At present from Fort William on Lake Superior, from Montreal and Quebec on the St. Lawrence, from St. Johns and Halifax on the Atlantic coast, this whole region is in direct communication through the navigable seasons with every British seaport. Furthermore, in this connection there is the Hudson's Bay route, the most direct and the shortest between the motherland and this great producing portion of the Dominion of Canada. This route has been exploited by the Hudson's Bay Company for more than two centuries, and it seems to be the natural, the direct route for the surplus products of the great Northwest. By this route the Rocky mountains are within 1,200 miles of the tidal waters of the ocean, and these 640,000,000 of acres are brought within a short distance of the ocean transport of British commerce.—*The Rev. John McDougall in "Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute."*

Vice-President Summerville succeeds himself, which is sufficient proof of the nation's faith in his integrity and able statesmanship. He is most happily a wise choice, as has been clearly demonstrated by his previous career. He has been before the public now in first one official capacity and another for several years, until he has by reason of his meritorious and faithful service won the faith and love of the people whom he has served. Liberia honors herself in honoring such a man.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

Miss Clavender Sherman extended to the President the congratulations of the ladies of Liberia, in a most excellent and well worded address. Miss Sherman is the accomplished daughter of Mr. Robert T. Sherman. She is a splendid type of the modern cultured and refined woman. Miss Sherman was at one time a pupil in law under President Barclay. She is a graduate of the class of 1899, from the High School Department of the College of West Africa, and is now a member of the junior class of that institution.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

Owing to Recent Severe Attacks of Illness of our Editor-in-Chief, the Rev. N. H. B. Cassell, he was compelled to leave for the Canary islands recently by the Spanish mail steamer "San Francisco," for the purpose of recuperating his health. We wish for our editor a speedy recovery and a *bon voyage.—The Liberia Recorder.*

A saw-mill is in actual operation at Schieffelin. It is turning off from 1,000 to 1,500 feet of plank a day. Already 2,500 feet of excellent boards have been delivered in Monrovia. The mill is operated by Mr. L. A. Faulkner, and is owned conjointly by Mrs. S. A. Cooper and Mr. Faulkner. With the splendid timbers in Liberian forests, this enterprise has a splendid future.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

The Senate has Recently Confirmed the Following Cabinet Officers: Hons. H. W. Travis, Secretary of State; D. E. Howard, Secretary of Treasury; H. J. Moore, Secretary of Interior; R. T. Sherman, Secretary of War; S. T. Prout, Postmaster General; F. E. R. Johnson, Attorney General.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

Liberia College gave its commencement exercises January 14. The following young men graduated from the institution, receiving the B. A. degree. Messrs. H. B. Hayes, N. H. Gibson, A. W. Karnga, J. G. A. Richards, L. A. Grimes, and E. J. Barclay. Fourteen honorary degrees were conferred.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

Absence of American Ships from West Coast of Africa.—During the month of September, 1903, 22 steamships called at the port of Monrovia, of which number 15 were German, 5 English, and 2 French; 11 homeward and 11 coastward bound. The entire absence of American vessels from this part of West African waters is to be deeply deplored.—*Ernest Lyon, Consul General, Monrovia, Liberia, October 30, 1903, in Monthly Consular Reports, February, 1904.*